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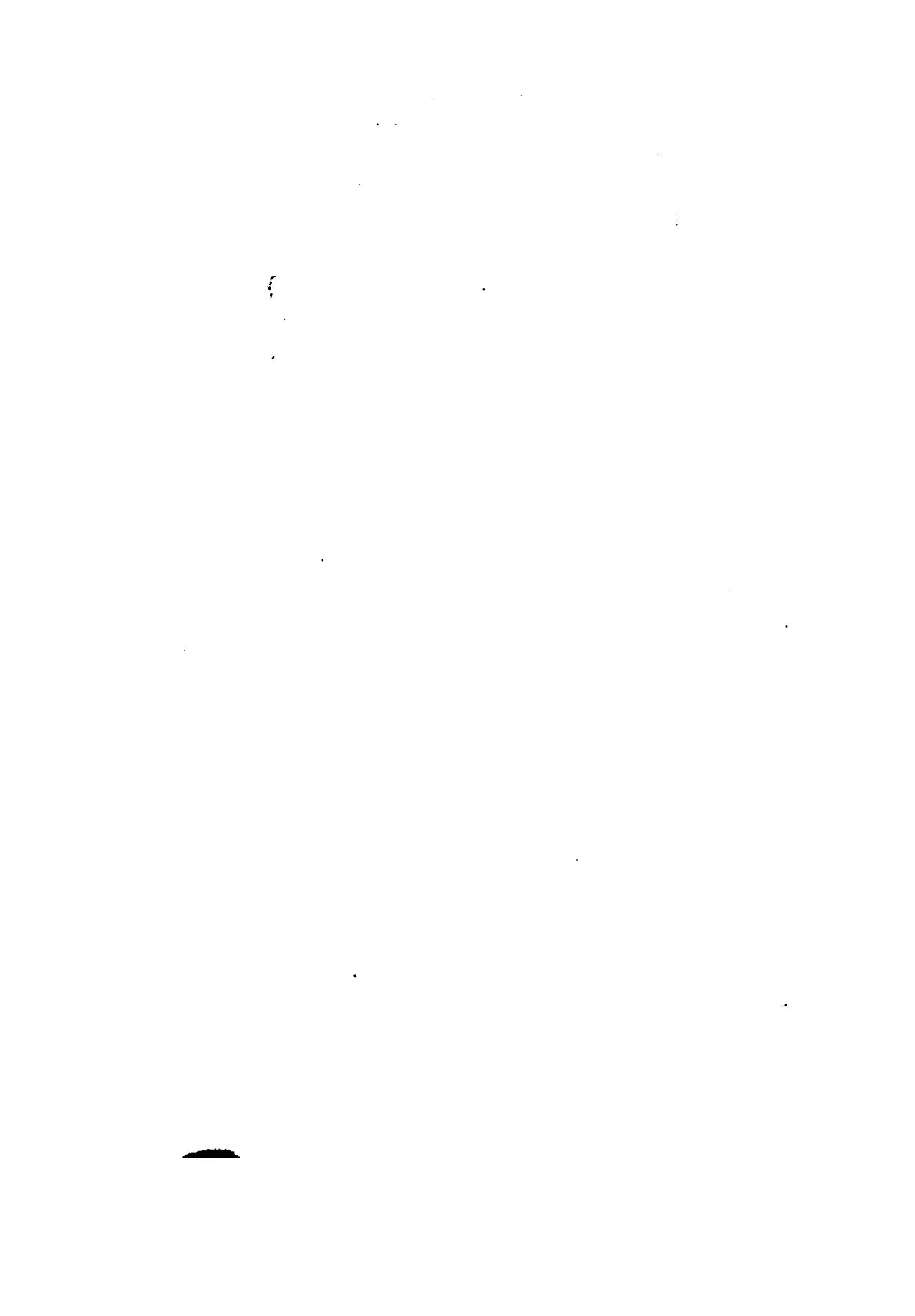
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FOLK-LORE

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

*And incorporating THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REVIEW and
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL*

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ERRATA.

-
- Page 93, line 14, read *Here's to thee, old apple-tree.*
 Page 104, line 1, read *Egyptian.*
 Page 199, line 24, read *τὸ πιστικάλι.*
 Page 199, line 26, read *τὰ αἰδοῖα.*
 Page 260, line 3, read *Frazer.*
 Page 273, line 17, read *Saalfeld.*

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Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.]

MARCH, 1895.

[No I.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, 1894.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.)
in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mr. G. W. Speth, Mr. R. E. Dennett, Mr. A. J. Evans, Mr. A. Major, Mr. S. O. Addy, the Edinburgh Public Library, the Aberdeen University Library, the Royal Irish Academy, and the National Library of Ireland. The resignation of the following members was also announced, viz.: Mr. Bain, Mr. J. Harvie Brown, Miss Porter, Mrs. K. Clark, Mr. E. D. Hodgson, Mr. J. W. Butterworth, and Miss E. Sawyer; and the deaths of Lady Camilla Gurdon and Mrs. Hemenway.

Two Beltane cakes sent by the Rev. W. Gregor were exhibited by Mrs. Gomme; and the Secretary read an explanatory note upon them (*infra* p. 2) communicated by the sender.

The following books which had been presented to the Society since the last meeting were laid upon the table, viz.: (1) *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, by J. F. Hewitt; (2) Δημαδέῖς κοσμογονικοῖ μῦθοι, by Nicholas Polites; and (3) the *Report of the fifth meeting of the Australasian Association*.

Beltane Cakes.

paper on the Rollright Stones
and a discussion followed,
Mr. Nutt, Mr. Kirby, Dr. Corney,
and took part.
plied a hearty vote of thanks was
paper.

NOTES ON BELTANE CAKES.

BY KELLY WALTERS, GKF, A.R.C.M.

seed, near Strathpeffer, Ross-shire, on the
May the children received each an egg and a
these they went to the hill, as many at times
and thirty in company. They gathered material,
seamie, and roasted the eggs in the ashes. Before
each egg in the ashes, each child put a mark on it so
able to identify it when taken from the ashes.
egg and the cake were eaten. The cake was baked
nine and ten o'clock in the morning. It was
entirely in the hand, and not on a board or table
common cakes. It was "fired" or baked in front
peat fire on the hearth supported by a stone.
being so baked it was put into the child's hand,
not on any table or dish. It must never be put
the hand except to be baked in front of the fire.
and on anything it was then nothing more than an
ordinary bannock. It was called "teharnican" (spelt
doubtfully), because it was made wholly in the hand.
The word means "hand-cake." Those now sent were

baked by a native of the parish of Fodderty, who is now eighty-three years of age. One of them was baked in my presence.

I append statements relating to Beltane cakes collected at other places, with the names of my informants.

Bannocks were baked the evening before Beltane, the first day of May (O.S.), and were called Beltane bannocks. They were made of oatmeal in the usual way, but they were washed over or "watered" with a thin batter composed of whipped egg, milk or cream, and a little oatmeal. Before being laid on the "brannithr" (Keith), "branner" (other districts), *i.e.* gridiron, the upper side was rubbed over with this batter. When the underside was sufficiently baked or "fired," the bannock was turned, and the underside was now rubbed over with the batter. The bannock was then allowed to hang over the fire on the gridiron till fully baked. On Beltane about mid-day the young folks, each with a bannock, went to the rocks or high grounds, and rolled them down. If a bannock broke in the rolling, the one to whom it belonged would come to some disaster or die before next Beltane. They ate them, but left a "bittie" to the "cuack" or cuckoo. They carried a piece home, and placed it under the pillow in the sweetheart's name, to find out if dreams would reveal the future as to marriage.

Eggs were not used in baking the Baptismal and Christmas bannocks.

JANET DAVIDSON (aged 81), Kingussie.

The same custom was followed in Daviot, Strathnairn, but with this difference, that the bannocks were baked any time during the day before. It was accounted unlucky if anyone's bannock broke in the baking.

Mrs. ROBERTSON (aged 72), born in Daviot,
now at Lynnchat, Alvie.

In Dyke the bannock was baked very thick, and the upper side was smeared or "watered" with a batter made of whisked eggs, milk, and oatmeal. A peat on fire through and through, quite without smoke and clear, was held over the upper side till the "watering" was dry. The bannock was then turned, and the side that had been under next the fire and was baked was now washed over with the batter, and the bannock was allowed to hang over the fire till it was fully baked. One was prepared for each of the family. On Beltane all the family went together to roll the bannocks. They afterwards ate them.

Mrs. MUNRO, Dyke.

In parts of Easter Ross, the cattle were all put out to pasture on Beltane, and each herd received a bannock, called the Beltane bannock, when setting out to the pasture with the animals.

G. MACLEAN (aged 73).

In Corgarff, the bannock was about four inches in diameter and washed over with whisked egg. One was made for each member of the family, and marked so that it might be known for whom it was intended. After four o'clock p.m. all the inmates of the house went to the top of a rising ground or slope and rolled the bannocks down. Omens of good or bad luck or of death were drawn from the way in which they rolled. If a bannock fell before it reached the bottom, some evil awaited its owner within the year. If one broke, its owner was to die before the same time next year. Each one rolled the bannock three times.

J. FARQUHARSON, Corgarff.

When the breeding ewes were "clippit," or shorn, they were milked. From the milk was made a cheese, and this cheese was kept till the first day of May. On the morning



of that day an oatmeal bannock was baked by the good-wife for each member of the household. An egg was whipped and spread over it, first on one side and then on the other, in the act of being "fried" or baked. When it was laid on the gridiron the sign of the cross was made over it, as also when it was turned. About nine o'clock a.m. the goodman cut the cheese with the kitchen knife, after making the sign of the cross over it. A slice of cheese was laid on a piece of each bannock for each one of the household. Each piece of each bannock and each slice of cheese had to be eaten by each member of the family before sunset. The remainder of the "kebback," or cheese, was kept till Lammas (1st of August), when the whole had to be eaten before sunset, even although the dogs had to get part of it. No special bannock was baked for that day.

H. MACINTOSH, Corgarff.

On two hills in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire the Banshee had to be propitiated by the traveller over the hills. This was done by placing near a well on each hill a barley-meal cake marked on one side by a round figure O. If the cake was not left death or some dire calamity befell the traveller. On one occasion a woman had to cross one of the hills. She neglected to leave the customary offering. She paid the penalty. She died at a cairn not far from the well. The cairn bears the name of Cairn Alshish, *i.e.* Elspet's Cairn.

The victim on the other hill was a man. He had omitted to pay the usual tribute, and the omission cost him his life.

J. FARQUHARSON, Corgarff.

THE ROLLRIGHT STONES AND THEIR FOLK-LORE.

BY ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., F.S.A.

PART I.

ROWLDRICH IN ITS RELATION TO THE WYCHWOOD AND COTSWOLD GROUP OF MEGLITHIC MONUMENTS.

PERHAPS owing to their occurrence in a part of England where such remains are rare, the Rollright stones have from very early days attained a celebrity in England quite disproportionate to their actual dimensions, and have become household words while many more important megalithic piles have been almost forgotten. The Stone Circle, otherwise known as Rolldrich, is found already in the lists of the mediæval compilers of the "Marvels of Britain," and in one entry it even appears as the second wonder of the realm.¹ It is thus described by Camden:²

"Beneath Einsham, Evenlode a little river, arising likewise out of Cotteswold speedeth him into Isis: which riveret on the very border of the shire passeth by an ancient Monument standing not farre from his bank, to wit, certaine large stones placed in a round circle (the common people usually call them *Rolle-rich* stones, and dreameth that they were sometimes men by a wonderfull *Metamorphosis* turned into hard stones). The draught of them, such as it is, portrayed long since, heere I represent unto your view. For, without all form and shape they bee, unequall, and by long continuance of time much impaired.

¹ In a MS. in the library of Benet College, Cambridge, falsely ascribed to Bede, cited by Mr. Thomas Beesley in a paper on the Rollright Stones. *Transactions of the North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society*, vol. i. p. 65.

² Philemon Holland's Translation, 1637, p. 374.

The highest of them all, which without the circle looketh into the earth, they use to call *the King*, because hee should have beene King of England (forsooth) if hee had once scene *Long Compton*, a little towne so called lying beneath and which a man if he goe some few paces forward may see: other five standing on the other side, touching as it were one another, they imagine to have been knights mounted on horsebacke and the rest the Army. But loe the foresaid portraiture. These would I verily thinke to have beene the Monument of some Victory and haply erected by Rollo the Dane who afterwards conquered Normandy."

The stones themselves are set on a bleak hill, which forms a branch of the Cotswold range, at a height of somewhat over 700 feet above sea-level, overlooking to the North-West the valley of the Warwickshire Stour and its tributary brooks. The road that runs between the circle and the "King-stone" is itself of great antiquity, and forms in this part of its course the boundary between the counties of Oxford and Warwick, the circle lying in Oxfordshire and the single stone beyond in Warwickshire.

The Rollright stones lie but a few miles outside the old boundary of Wychwood Forest. From the Perambulation of the Forest made in the 28th year of King Edward I.¹ (1300 A.D.) the manor of Podelicote—now marked by Padlicot Copse near the village of Sarsden—and Chadlington (within whose hundred the Rollright stones are situated) were both included in the limits of the Forest, which therefore extended a good deal further to the North than it does at the present day.² Westwards it extended to the manor of Tainton, then held by the Prior of Deerhurst. It is quite conceivable that this forest land had a wider exten-

¹ See Akerman, "A View of the Ancient Limits of the Forest of Wychwood" (*Archæologia*, 1858).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

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sion to the North-West, and that it is to its sheltering wilds that this early monument survived intact for so many ages.

That if not actually covered with trees, the immediate neighbourhood of Rollright remained uncultivated to comparatively recent times is certain. Stukeley,¹ who explored the neighbourhood early in the last century, says: "The country hereabouts was originally an open barren heath. At present there are some inclosures which have been ploughed up." In another place² he describes "the Rowldrich," as he calls it, as lying on high ground upon an extended heath. This heath he elsewhere speaks of³ as stretching in the Banbury direction and containing many barrows. We are therefore fully justified in including this district in the same "Wealden" district as the neighbouring forest. If it was not strictly speaking part of the "Weald" it was part of the "Wold." The origin of this great "Waste" district of Western Oxfordshire may in fact go back very far, and be traced to the boundary arrangement of uncivilized tribes, with which it was a common practice to surround their territory, for purposes of security, with a waste tract. Such, to take a celebrated instance from Celtic antiquity, was the "Boian Waste," and in this case the existence of an ancient British boundary embankment known as "Grimes Dyke," threading the central part of the district in question, and of old a landmark of the forest region, squares well with this conclusion. It is possible that this dyke once marked the boundary of the free Dobuni and of those subject to the Cattyechlani or Catuellani, who from the evidence of coins seem under their great Prince, Cunobeline, to have extended their territory West of the Chilterns, and to have occupied the Oxford district, subjugating a part

¹ *Abury* (London, 1743), p. 10.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

of the Dobuni.¹ This event would have taken place in the first decades of the Christian era; and if this theory of the creation of the Oxfordshire "Waste" in what was before the centre of a tribal area holds good, the megalithic remains of the district which involve the presence of a considerable population must be referred to an earlier date.

The whole region is emphatically a border district. The former confines of the Forest on the West reach over the Gloucestershire boundary. The frontier character of the Wold on which Rolldrich lies has been already noticed; and near Addlestrop, a few miles to the South-West, an old Shire-stone or Merestone marks the meeting place of the boundaries of the four shires of Gloucester, Worcester, Oxford, and Warwick. The road which, by the monument itself, marks the boundary between Oxfordshire and Warwickshire is, as we shall see, in its origin an old British trackway of great antiquity, and it has been suggested² that at an earlier period this trackway marked the confines of the Dobuni and the Cornavii, whose territory extended at least into the Avon valley.

That the former extension of the forest of Wychwood accounts for the survival of almost all the other megalithic remains of the same class existing within the Oxfordshire limits appears to be certain. On the Western confines of the Forest stood till lately Frethelestone, perhaps originally Frithwald's Stone (*Frithwaldes Stān*), broken up only a generation since to make a newly-formed³ road, the ebb of the forest boundary on this side having left it exposed.

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. ix. s. 20, says that Aulus Plautius in 43 A.D. subjugated a part of the Boduni who were under the Catuvellani. The line of division between the area where coins of the presumably Dobunian Prince Boduoc occur and that in which coins of Cunobeline are found must be drawn through the old limits of Wychwood. See Sir J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, Supplement (Map of localities where Ancient British inscribed coins have been found).

² Beesley, *op. cit.*

³ Akerman, *op. cit.*, p. 7, note.

The Rollright Stones and their Folk-Lore.

By the thickened borders of the Forest above Ascot stands, or stood till lately, in a dilapidated condition, the Hoar Stone, or "Horse Stone,"¹ and to the North another megalithic monument by the village of Enstone was also, with the neighbouring "Hawk Stone," at one time sheltered by the Forest. The Hoar Stone is not, as its name would seem to imply, a solitary block. It has another smaller one by its side, and in an old drawing preserved by Gough,² a third stands at right angles to this. It stands, or stood, by the remains of a mound, and was obviously originally a dolmen — "the Whispering Knights."

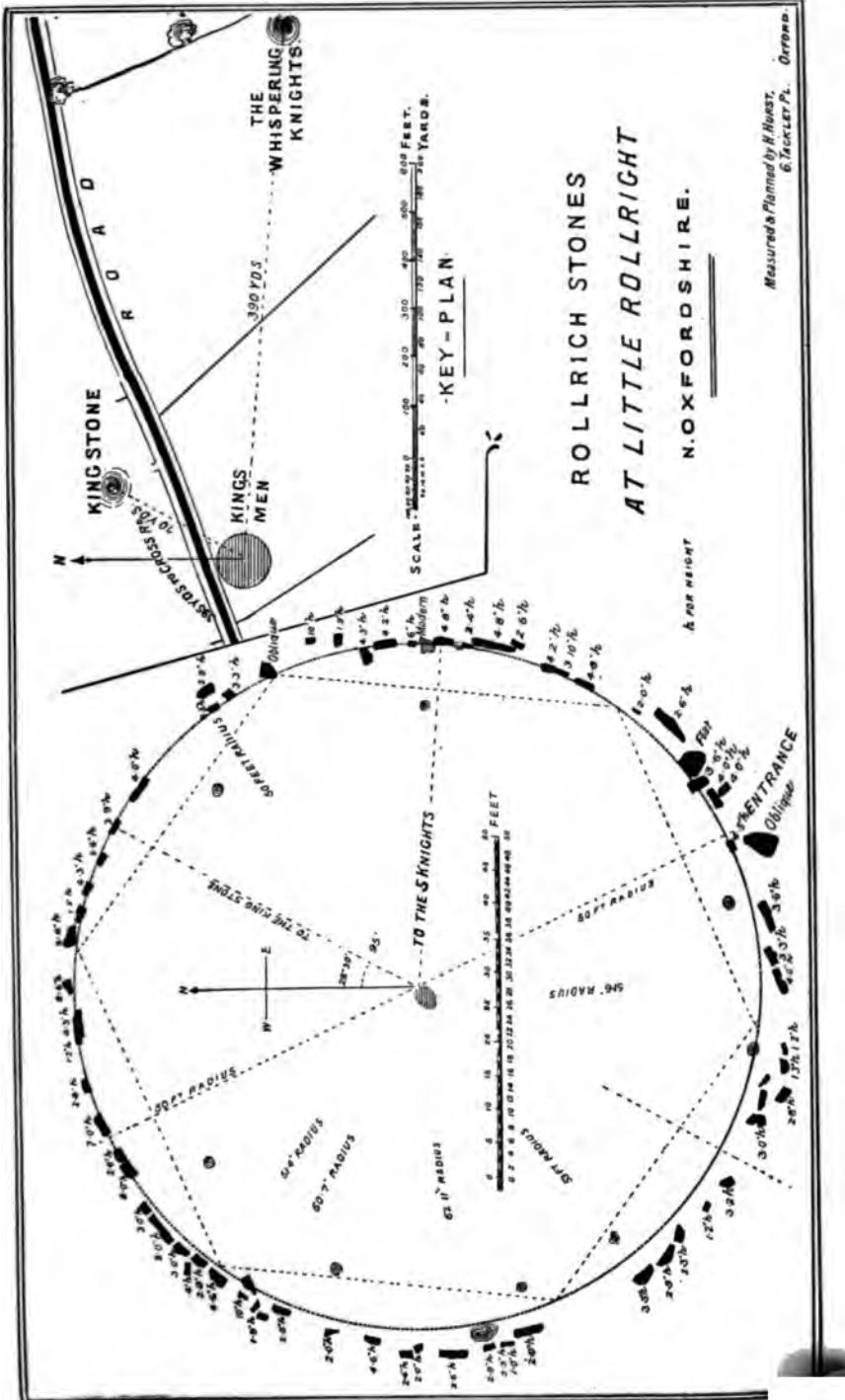
Within the ancient limits of the Forest on the Oxford side stand the scattered blocks to which the name of "Devil's Quoit" has been attached. From my own investigation of this group of stones I had independently arrived at the conclusion that it formed originally part of a great megalithic circle, standing on a low embankment, considerably larger than Avebury; and I notice that Mr. Akerman in his account of the Forest of Wychwood has enunciated the same opinion. He considered from the position of the stones that they had once formed part of a circle some 900 yards in diameter, and, as I had myself been led to do, lays stress on the name of the village (Stanton, A.S. *Stán-tún*, the stone enclosure) — a name, it may be remarked, associated elsewhere with more perfect megalithic circles, as at Stanton Drew, Somersetshire, or the "Nine Ladies" of Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire. As bearing on our present subject, it may be remarked that from Stanton Harcourt and the neighbouring village of Standlake—from the precincts, that is, and partly perhaps from within the limits of this once colossal monument—have been obtained at various times British antiquities belonging to the Bronze and Early Iron Age, while at Standlake were discovered the hut circles of a village of British troglodytes.

The Rollright circle itself belongs to a well-marked class

¹ Akerman, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

² In the Bodleian Library.

PLATE I.



PLAN OF THE CIRCLE.





PLATE II.



of what Ferguson¹ has called "hundred foot circles." Its mean diameter indeed is as nearly as possible 100 feet. (See Plan, Pl. I.)

From the comparatively small size of the Rollright circle, and judging from the analogy of similar monuments in various parts, there is a high probability that it once contained an interment. Ralph Sheldon² indeed seems to have dug inside without result, but such an examination as conducted some two centuries ago was not likely to have been very exhaustive. During the present century the stone enclosure was turned into a plantation, and the trees, which till a few years since covered the whole area, must have done much to destroy any evidence of sepulture that may have been still remaining.

The neighbouring dolmen known still as "The Whispering Knights" may also have been set up in a sepulchral connection, though excavation would be here impossible without doing harm to the monument. As it is, it has been considerably ruined since the first representation of it was made by Camden towards the end of Elizabeth's reign.³ A sketch of it as it existed in the last century is also to be found in a drawing inserted in Gough's edition of the *Britannia* in the Bodleian Library, and a view of it as it at present appears has been executed for me by Mr. H. Hurst. (Pl. II.)

¹ *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 124.

² Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire* (ed. 1677, p. 338), who says that Ralph Sheldon "industriously dug" into the middle of it to see whether he could find any symbols or marks "either who might erect it or for what end or purpose," but that he "could not find any such matter." Cf. Stukeley, *Abury*, p. 12.

³ Camden speaks of the picture inserted in the folio edition of his *Britannia* (1607, p. 265), as "jam olim expressam." He does not say whether he himself drew it. The "Whispering Knights" are placed quite near the circle in this drawing, and the height of both is grossly exaggerated. The dolmen is represented as four times the height of a man beside it. In another version of the same drawing, this ideal prospect is improved upon. The dolmen there appears four times the height of two knights on horseback, who are seen riding towards it !

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The "King-stone" (Pl. III.) stands about seventy yards to the N.E. of the centre of the circle, near the flank of an elongated artificial mound. The bank by which it stands, boldly described as an "Archdruid's Barrow" by the ingenious Dr. Stukeley, does not answer to any known category of sepulchral tumulus existing in the British Islands. It certainly is not what is technically known as a "Long Barrow"—a long, low mound, that is, with an interment at the East end, in this part of England generally contained in a megalithic chamber such as that of which we see the ruins in "Wayland's Smithy," and belonging to the Neolithic Period. Neither does it answer to any of the round barrows of the Bronze Period. It seems unlikely that it was of sepulchral origin, and there is no good analogy at hand for determining whether the menhir which stands near its flank was—as seems most probable—one of several or whether it always stood alone.

In one important point this mound, or rather bank, differs from the class of sepulchral barrows. These, when associated with a ditch, are surrounded by it, or at least, as in the case of the Long Barrows, accompanied by it on both sides. In the present case the mound looks down on the side of the road on an oblong hollow. Out of this oblong hollow, excavated in the oolite rock, obviously came the material for the bank above it, perhaps too the blocks which supplied the material not only for the King-stone but for the neighbouring circle.

When Stukeley wrote, the immediate neighbourhood of Rollright was still an extensive heath; at the present day, unfortunately for antiquaries, it has for the most part yielded to cultivation. The account of the barrows in the adjoining tract which Stukeley has left us has therefore a considerable value, though his theories about "Archdruids" and the like may be consigned to the same category as his derivation of Rollright from a supposed Welsh word "~~Roll~~ *llanwg*," which means the Druids' *wheel* or *circle*."



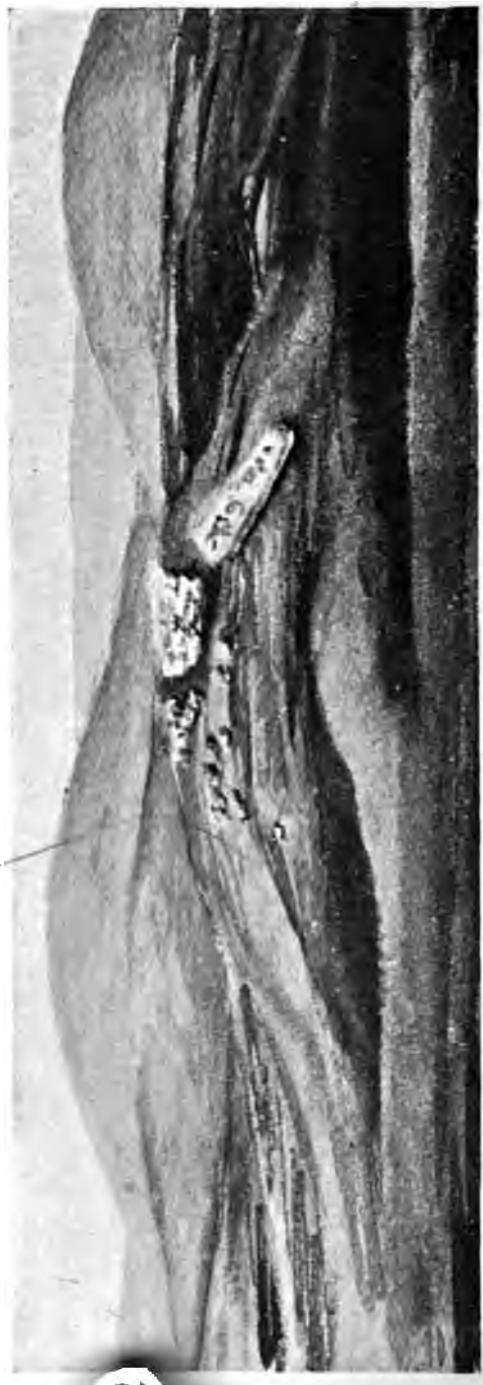
PLATE III.



THE KING-STONE.



PLATE IV.



THE BARROW—*from an old drawing.*

Speaking of Table III., representing a view of Rollright inserted in his work on Abury, Stukeley observes: "In the same plate may be seen another barrow, but circular, below the road to the left hand, on the side of the hill. Under it is a spring head running eastward to Long Compton. This barrow has had stonework at the east-end of it. Upon this same heath eastward, in the way to Banbury, are many barrows of different shapes within sight of Rowldrich; particularly near a place call'd Chapel on the heath is a large flat and circular tumulus, ditched about, with a small lump in the centre: this is what I call a Druid's barrow; many such near Stonehenge, some whereof I opened; a small circular barrow a little way off it. There are on this heath too many circular dish-like cavities, as near Stonehenge; we may call them barrows inverted."

"Not far from the Druid's barrow I saw a square work such as I call Danish Courts or houses. Such near Stonehenge and Abury. 'Tis a place 100 cubits square, double ditch'd. The earth of the ditches is thrown inward between the ditches so as to raise a terrace going quite round. The ditches are too inconsiderable to be made for defence. Within are seemingly remains of stone walls. 'Tis within sight of the temple" (*i.e.* the Rollright stones) "and has a fine prospect all around, being seated on the highest part of the ridge. A little further is a small round barrow with stonework at the east-end like that before spoken of near Rowldrich; a dry stone wall or fence running quite over it across the heath."¹ Stukeley then goes on to speak of the dolmen known as the "Whispering Knights." "'Tis what the old Britons call'd a *kist vaen* or stone chest."

The "barrow with stonework," described by Stukeley as lying above the spring head and below the road, has long disappeared, but I am able to reproduce an old drawing of it (Pl. IV.), inserted in Gough's edition of Camden in the Bodleian Library. The broken block seen in the drawing

¹ Stukeley, *Abury*, p. 12.

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was clearly a standing stone which had once surmounted the barrow, and had broken in two in its fall. In an accompanying sketch-plan this monument is described as "fallen stone on a mound undermined," and is placed about 220 yards W.N.W. of the King-stone. It seems to have been a true "Round Barrow," with a menhir at top, which may have fallen owing to the sinking in of an internal cist.

The road which runs between the circle and the King-stone is, as already observed, of great antiquity, and represents no doubt an ancient British trackway. Along its side may in places be traced the stones of ruined cists and perhaps small circles; and in a field to the north of it, about half a mile from Rowldrich itself, is a small circular clump of trees and bushes surrounded by a double line of stones, and evidently representing an ancient barrow. There is, moreover, a feature about the road itself which is of special interest. At intervals along its side may here and there be seen upright stones which seem to show that the road itself was regarded as a kind of *Via Sacra*, as affording access to the group of ancient sepultures and monuments scattered along the hill-top. The progress of cultivation and enclosure has made it impossible now to obtain more than general indications of these once extensive relics of ancient funereal cult that once surrounded Rowldrich, and which in Stukeley's days were still comparatively untouched.

Stukeley is no doubt quite right in comparing the "disk-shaped barrows"—as is now the accepted term for the class—about Rollright with those near Stonehenge, and he notices that "the diameter of the outer circle at Stonehenge and this circle at Rowldrich are exactly equal"—a statement approximately true. The main point that we have to bear in mind is, that though Stonehenge represents a much more elaborate monument of its kind, both it and the Oxfordshire circle belong to the same general class of monuments. And what is very important is that both stand

in immediate relation to a large group of sepulchral barrows.

As to the relation in which Stonehenge stands to the surrounding barrows, I have already put forth elsewhere¹ some observations which may be here briefly summarised. The class of barrows with which Stonehenge stands in the nearest relation are the disk-shaped kind thus described by Dr. Thurnam: "The disk-shaped barrow consists of a circular area on the same level as the surrounding turf, generally about a hundred feet in diameter, though sometimes much less and sometimes nearly double this size. The enclosed area is surrounded by a ditch and a bank on the outside very regularly formed. In the centre there is usually a small mound of very slight elevation, not more than one foot in height; sometimes there are two or three such mounds corresponding to so many sepulchral deposits. So insignificant are these central mounds that they are scarcely recognised as sepulchral tumuli by the casual observer, who remarks chiefly the surrounding ditch and bank, and calls the whole a ring or circle."²

With this form of barrow Stonehenge itself presents some remarkable analogies. The diameter of its great stone circle is itself 100 feet; and like the disk-barrows it is surrounded by a ditch and bank, though in this case the ditch is outside the embankment.

But these disk-barrows, which show such remarkable points of agreement with the neighbouring stone circle, must themselves be reckoned the latest class amongst the surrounding sepulchral mounds. We see in them the complete triumph of cremation over the older skeleton interment of the Neolithic period, which still survived awhile during the earlier Bronze Period in this country side by side with the newer form of urn burial. They show besides a remarkable approach to the "urnfield" form

¹ "Stonehenge" in the *Archaeological Review*, Vol. ii. (1889), p. 312 *seqq.*
See especially p. 320 *seqq.*

² *Archæologia*, xlivi. 292.

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of burial in the flat earth¹ which became prevalent in Britain during the last two centuries before the Christian era. On every ground then they must be referred to the latest period of the British Bronze Age, which in South-Eastern England reaches down to about the third century before our era. On this and other grounds supplied by relics found in Stonehenge itself and the surrounding barrows, I have ventured to refer at least the beginnings of this great monument—for like other great stone circles it was in all probability, in part at least, of gradual construction—to the centuries immediately preceding 250 B.C.,¹ when, approximately speaking, the “Late Celtic” culture, bringing with it the use of iron, of which we have no trace in Stonehenge, began to be spread by the Belgic conquerors in Southern Britain.

In the case of the Rowdrich or Rollright stones, the extension of megalithic remains, to which attention has been already called, over the neighbouring Wold and Weald enables us to go beyond the sepulchral group still existing in Stukeley's days in its immediate neighbourhood, and to compare its associations with those of the once far larger circle at Stanton Harcourt on the other side of Wychwood. Here we are confronted by a series of trenched circles, formerly regarded as “Fairy Rings,” lying in the vicinity of the area once occupied by this Oxfordshire Abury; and in this case some at least of these survived to a time when they could be scientifically explored. This was done in 1857 by Mr. Stephen Stone under the inspection of Mr. Akerman, and an account of the results of the excavation has been published in *Archæologia*.² The circles—one

¹ See “Late Celtic Cemetery at Aylesford,” &c., *Archæologia*, vol. lii., p. 315.

² “An Account of the Investigation of some remarkable Circular Trenches and the Discovery of an Ancient British Cemetery at Stanlake, Oxon,” by J. Y. Akerman, Sec. S.A., and Stephen Stone, Hon. Memb. Ashmolean Soc., *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. (1857), p. 363 *seqq.* Cf. “Account of certain (supposed) British and Saxon Remains in the County of Oxford,” *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 92.

can hardly call them barrows—consisted of a circular trench¹ enclosing a flat area of from about 80 to 106 feet in diameter, in which were ancient British interments. The “disk” most fully explored had an area of 102 feet in diameter, almost exactly answering to the dimensions of Rollright, and contained the remains of about 80 interments, consisting of cremated bones stowed away in rude British urns. The urns themselves were mostly very plain and as uncouth as those of the Neolithic interments of Britain, from which they are directly descended. But from the occurrence of some fragments with herring-bone and other ornaments, and the presence of a barbed arrowhead of flint, a type which in this country seems to characterise the early age of metal, the remains must be referred to a later period. The characteristic form presented by a spiral ring of bronze found in one urn leads us indeed to believe that these flat disk-barrows of Stanlake belong to a time when iron was already coming into use. From the neighbouring hut circles, belonging in all probability to the people who here buried their dead, was obtained a fine specimen of a curved iron knife in its bone handle, and another handle of a similar knife without the blade; and these relics belong unquestionably to the Early Iron Age in Britain and to the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. A clue perhaps of a somewhat later date to the nationality of the British occupants of Stanlake is found in an ancient British coin with the inscription BODVOC found at this place in 1849,² and which must unquestionably be attributed to a prince of the Boduni or Bodunni.³

This evidence fits on to what has been cited in the case of the “disk-barrows” about Stonehenge, and we have here additional grounds for assigning the stone circles at Stanton Harcourt and Rolldrich to a comparatively late period in British history.

¹ In one case oval.

² Dr. Ingram, *Gent. Mag.*, 1849.

³ Sir J. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 135.

PART II.

THE FOLK-LORE OF ROLLRIGHT.

The folk-lore of which the Rollright stones have become the centre is of the highest interest, and it would be difficult to find any English site in which it is more living at the present day. I have myself taken down from the lips of the country people in the immediate neighbourhood, but especially about Little Rollright, a quantity of tales relating to the stones; and though the stories were generally prefaced by an explanatory statement that the teller of them simply repeated what he had heard, and that such things could not really have happened, this was often a reserve of half-belief in the old tales.

With regard to the King-stone and the circle, or "King's men" as they are called, the main outlines of the story are as follows:

A certain King—the name is not, as a rule, remembered¹—had set forth at the head of his forces to conquer all England. But as he went up the hill on which Rowldrich stands there appeared to him the Witch² to whom the ground belonged. The King was now within a few steps of the crest of the hill from which the village of Long Compton would be visible in the combe below, when

¹ Only once, in answer to many inquiries, I was told that he was sometimes called King Charles. Mr. Hurst heard him spoken of as "King Billy," which recalls the Breton "Roi Guillaume," attached to similar monuments.

² In some accounts the witch is called "Mother Shipton." In a communication of R. H. Cooper to *Notes and Queries* (1853, p. 58) entitled "Oxfordshire Legend in Stone," some Rollright stories are given. The practiser of the ~~black art~~ is called "Magician," but no such expression is known to the ~~black art~~ people, and it is always a "Witch."

The Rollright Stones and their Folk-Lore. 19

she stopped him with the words, “Seven long strides shalt thou take,¹ and—

“ If Long Compton thou canst see,
King of England thou shalt be.”

The King, who now thought his success assured, cried out exultingly:

“ Stick, stock, stone,
As King of England I shall be known !”

So he took seven strides forward, but lo! and behold, instead of his looking down on Long Compton there rose before him the long mound of earth which still stands before the King-stone, and the Witch said:

“ As Long Compton thou canst not see
King of England thou shalt not be.
Rise up, stick, and stand still, stone,
For King of England thou shalt be none,
Thou and thy men hoar stones shall be
And I myself an eldern-tree.”²

Thereupon the King and his army were turned into stones where they stood, the King on the side of the mound and his army in a circle behind him, while the Witch herself became an elder tree. But some day, they do say, the spell will be broken. The stones will turn into flesh and blood once more, and the King will start as an armed warrior at the head of his army to overcome his enemies and rule over all the land.

¹ In other versions the King uses the words himself. The “seven strides” are also mentioned in a note on the Rollright stones by J. W. Lodowick (*Notes and Queries*, 1876, p. 291). Mr. Lodowick’s informant, an old man born and bred at Great Rollright, called the king “a Danish king,” but we see here probably the influence of literary conjectures like those of Camden about Rollo the Dane.

² This is the best version that I myself have been able to hear from the country people. The epithet applied to stones is uncertain. Another version has “Fall down, king,” instead of “Rise up, stick;” but the latter, referring to the metamorphosis of the Witch herself, is decidedly the better version. Another version runs, “Rise up, mound, and stand still, stone.”

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The last touch sets us thinking of Arthur at Avilion or Barbarossa in the cave of Kyffhäuser. Some say that there is a great cave beneath the King-stone, and according to some the same exists beneath the circle too.

The Witch-Elder still watches over the victims of her magic. As to the exact position of the tree, however, the tradition is shifting. According to some accounts it used to stand in the field not far from the dolmen called the "Whispering Knights." Some say that it was near the circle, but was blown down not many years ago. Others say that it is to be found in the hedge by the road not far from the King-stone, or further in the field beyond the mound where an elder-bush that stood by a large stone was some years since pointed out to a friend as "the Witch." As a matter of fact the elder still grows in luxuriant clumps along every hedgerow and wherever a waste patch is to be found in the country round. When the district was wilder the stones must have been surrounded by a dense elder thicket. Indeed the idea may well have grown up that Dame Elder had turned the king and his army into stone for molesting "her ancient solitary reign."

The proof that the elder is a witch is that it bleeds when it is cut. And with regard to this I came upon a remarkable tradition, which an old woman, the wife of a man of eighty, told me she had heard many years ago from her husband's mother. On Midsummer Eve, when the "eldern-tree" was in blossom, it was a custom for people to come up to the King-stone and stand in a circle. Then the "eldern" was cut, and as it bled "the King moved his head."¹ It is to be observed that this breaking of the spell by blood-letting itself fits on to a very widespread superstition regarding witches, of which I found many surviving expressions in the neighbouring village of Long Compton. They say there

¹ This turning round of the King-stone is paralleled by many French legends, the favourite time being midday or at the sound of the Angelus.

that if you only draw her blood, "be it but a pin's prick," the witch loses all power for the time.

For the "eldern-tree" to bleed it must be in blossom. The more sceptical spirits amongst the country people explain the matter by the catch, "If you cut the elder with your hand on it it will bleed," but among the children at least the more literal belief in the bleeding elder has not died out. An old man of Little Rollright told me that some years ago he was up by the stones and a ploughboy asked him whether it was really true that the elder-tree bled if it was cut. "Lend me your knife," said the old man, and forthwith stuck it into the bark. "Won't you pull it out?" said the boy. "Pull it out yourself!" was the reply, but the boy was too scared to do so. It was only at last, as they were about to go home for the night, that the boy, fearful that he would lose his knife altogether, approached the tree "tottering with fright and all of a tremble," and, snatching it out, rushed away without waiting to see whether the tree bled or not.

In these interesting superstitions we see traces of a time when the elder-tree was itself regarded as a supernatural being, a Tree-Goddess akin to the Dryads of old, before human witchcraft was called in to explain this survival of primitive animism. The idea of the sacred tree bleeding when injured is very widespread, and recalls the oak of Ceres described by Ovid:¹

"Cujus ut in trunco fecit manus impia vulnus
Haud aliter fluxit discussa cortice sanguis
Quam solet, ante aras ingens ubi victima taurus
Concidit, abrupta crux e cervice profundi."

The special superstitions attaching to the elder are perhaps explained by the effects of drinks such as are prepared from its berries² and blossoms. We learn from

¹ *Met.*, viii. 742.

² The blood-red berries themselves partly account for the lingering on of the superstitious belief in the quasi-human life of elder-trees. In parts of Essex the dwarf-elder is called "Dane's blood."

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one of Andersen's fairy tales that those who drink of elder-flower tea see the "Elder-Mother" (Hyldemoer) herself in their dreams, seated amidst her sweet-scented flowers and foliage. In Denmark the tree itself has been seen to move about in the twilight. In Nether-Saxony, before under-cutting an elder, it was usual to go down on bended knees before the tree with uncovered head and folded hands and pray as follows: "Dame Elder, give me some of thy wood and I will give thee some of mine when it grows in the forest."¹ In Ireland the elder is regarded as unholy. Of the early association of this tree with witchcraft in this country, a record is preserved in the canons of King Eadgar,² which speak of the "vain practices that are carried on with elders."

The fairies dance round the King-stone of nights. Will Hughes, a man of Long Compton, now dead, had actually seen them dancing round. "They were little folk like girls to look at." He often told a friend who related this to me about the fairies and what hours they danced. His widow, Betsy Hughes, whose mother had been murdered as a witch, and who is now between seventy and eighty, told me that when she was a girl and used to work in the hedgerows she remembered a hole in the bank by the King-stone, from which it was said the fairies came out to dance at night. Many a time she and her playmates had placed a flat stone over the hole of an evening to keep the fairies in, but they always found it turned over next morning.

Chips were taken from the King-stone "for luck," and by soldiers "to be good for England in battle." Betsy Hughes told me that her son, who had gone to India as a

¹ Arniel, i. 179. Thorpe, *N. Myth*, ii. 168: "As I in my younger days have heard and seen." See on the Elder Cult, R. Perrott, "Gleanings of Legendary Mythology," in *Arch. Camb.*, 1863, 226. In Sudermanland, Sweden, the juniper bleeds when cut. The belief in the magical virtues of elder-sprigs is widespread in England and elsewhere.

² 16. Thorpe, ii. 248.

soldier, had taken a chip with him, "but it brought him no luck, for he died of typhus." A man told me that he had been offered as much as a pound for a chip at Faringdon Fair; and the Welsh drovers, who used to trench the road with their cattle before the railway was made, used continually to be chipping off pieces, so that formerly the stone was much bigger than it is now.¹ A man at Great Rollright gave me a chip that he had kept in his house for years.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of this practice there were many who held that to do an injury to the stones was fraught with danger. In Wales one of the most frequent punishments that falls upon those who thus transgress against the stones is the breaking down of the transgressor's wagon,² and this belief still survives at Rowldrich. A ploughman informed me that one day a man who was driving along the road from Banbury swore to a friend who was with him that he would carry off a chip of the King-stone "though his wheel locked." He got down from his cart and chipped a piece off the stone, but when he tried to drive on he found that one wheel was locked in such a way that nothing he could do would make it go round again.

A curious kind of sanctity seems to linger about the spot. As one of my informants—a well-to-do farmer of the neighbourhood—was going along the road at the top of the hill one Good Friday, he met a labouring man that he knew who stopped him and said, "Where do you think I be going?—Why, I be a going to the King-stones, for there I shall be on holy ground." The man who told me this

¹ This is corroborated by a writer in *Notes and Queries* (1859, p. 393), who on visiting Rowldrich was informed by his local guide that the stones were daily diminishing "because people from Wales kept chipping off bits to keep the Devil off."

² Cf. Barnwell, "On some South Wales Cromlechs," *Arch. Camb.*, 1872, p. 135.

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said that "Some think the place was consecrated ground in the old Romish days." It appears, moreover, from a passage in Stukeley, that the oblong hollow by the King-stone was in old times a place of festal pilgrimage. Stukeley¹ relates that near the "Archdruid's Barrow," as he calls the mound, "by that called the King-stone is a square plot, oblong formed on the turf. Hither on a certain day of the year the young men and maidens customarily meet and make merry with cakes and ale." He himself suggests that "this seems to be the remain of the very ancient festival here celebrated in memory of the interr'd for whom the long barrow and temple were made." However this may be, it seems highly probable that the Midsummer's Eve gathering described to me by the old woman, when the blossoming elder was cut, and the merrymaking described by Dr. Stukeley, were one and the same festival.

Various other traditions are attached to the King-stones, the name by which the stone circle as well as the "King" himself are known to the inhabitants. The King-stones and the "Whispering Knights" of the neighbouring dolmen are said to go down the hill at midnight to drink of a spring in Little Rollright Spinney. According to some accounts they go down every night when the clock strikes twelve; according to others at certain special seasons, "on Saints' days for instance." What is more, the gap in the bushes is pointed out through which they go down to the water. In some versions of the tale, the King² also goes down to the stream at the same hour with his men; but others say that "the King goes down to the water to drink when he hears the clock strike twelve," meaning, as my informant was at pains to explain to me, that as he cannot hear the clock he

¹ *Abury*, p. 83.

² Sometimes, too, the king's men with him. In some accounts the stones descend to drink at a stream by Long Compton.

stays where he is. One sceptic assured me that he had passed by the stones many a time at midnight and never seen them move. Here we certainly seem to be on Celtic ground, and recall the Breton tales of how the stones of Carnac go down to the sea on Christmas Eve, or how those on the heath of Plouhinec once every hundred years rush hurtling down "like a troop of drunken giants" to drink at the Intel brook.¹ Once a year the "Pierre de Minuit" goes to drink in the Yonne. Legends of the kind seem very widespread, not only in Brittany but in other parts of France where megaliths are found.² They recur in Ireland, where, for example, the white boulder of Crone-bane³ goes down every May-day morning to wash at the Meeting of the Waters. The superstition does not seem to be unknown elsewhere in our own island.⁴

At midnight, again, the stones of the circle become men again for a moment, join hands, and dance round in the air. This dance recalls the *Chorea Gigantum*, or "Giants' Dance," which was transported, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, from Ireland to Salisbury Plain, and is better known as Stonehenge. In Cornwall, indeed, the usual name for such stone circles is Dawns-mén, or the Stone-dance; and Borlase observes that "in the circular figure there is a very ancient dance or play ('tis called *Trema-*

¹ See Émile Souvestre, *Le Foyer Breton*, p. 186 *segg.*

² Examples are collected by S. Reinach. "Les monuments de pierre brute dans le langage et les croyances populaires" (*Rev. Archéologique*, 1893, p. 343). The French stones generally go down on Christmas Eve once a year or once a century.

³ Co. Wicklow. See *Folk-Lore Record*, v. 170.

⁴ A similar belief attaches itself to King Arthur and his knights in the Cadbury folk-lore. They come riding down from Camelot to drink of the waters of a spring by Sutton Monks Church on the eve of every Christmas Day (J. A. Bennet, *Cadbury*, p. 4). According to another account, related to me by Mrs. Church, King Arthur goes down to drink on St. John's Eve, and anyone he meets, if not of perfectly pure life, he strikes dead.

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theeves) still practised among the Cornish."¹ In Cornwall the story usually runs that they were men turned into stones for dancing on Sunday.

These circle stones at Rollright cannot be counted. Men have come from a distance and tried over and over again to reckon up their number, but they never could count them twice the same. A baker once swore that he would count the stones. So he baked a quantity of penny loaves and set a loaf on every stone, but when he tried to count his loaves he could not reckon up the number rightly,² for he always found one stone without a loaf, and however often he laid them on there was always one missing. "The man will never live who shall count the stones three times and find the number the same." The superstition that the stones cannot be counted is found in the case of the ruined dolmen at Aylesford known as the "Countless Stones" and elsewhere in the account already referred to of the "Marvels of Britain," inserted in Nennius' history. So, too, in Sir Philip Sidney's poem on the Seven Wonders of England it is said of the stones of Stonehenge, "No eye can count them just." There appears a similar tale of the tomb of Anir, son of Arthur Knight, which cannot be measured. Sometimes the length appears six feet, sometimes nine, sometimes fifteen, but the measurement never comes out the same.³

¹ Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1754), p. 183. In Cornwall and elsewhere the explanation that these are dancers turned into stone "for dancing on the Lord's Day" is very general. So too of "Hurlers."

² A similar version of this is given in *Notes and Queries*, No. 168. "You will hear of a certain baker who resolved not to be outwitted, so hied to the spot with a basketful of small loaves, one of which he placed on every stone. In vain he tried; either his loaves were not sufficiently numerous or some sorcery displaced them, and he gave up in despair." On another occasion, according to Mr. Thomas Beesley in his paper on the Rollright Stones, communicated to the North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society in 1854 (*Trans.*, vol. i. p. 63), a man who wished to count the stones placed his basket on the stone at which he began, but when he thought he had completed the circle and looked for his basket it had been spirited away.

³ Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, § 73.

The "Whispering Knights" are traitors who, when the King with his army hard by were about to engage with the enemy, withdrew themselves privily apart, and were plotting treason together, when they were turned into stone by the Witch. Some, however, say that they are at prayer. I was told that once upon a time the big flat stone (the capstone) was taken away to make a bridge across the brook at Little Rollright.¹ It took a score of horses to drag it down the hill, for at first it would not move, and they had to strain and strain to get it along till every bit of the harness was broken. At last they got it to the brook by Rollright Farm, and with great difficulty laid it across to serve as a bridge. But every night the stone turned over back again and was found in the morning lying on the grass. So when this had happened three nights running they saw that the stone must be taken back to whence it came. This time they set a single horse to it, and the single horse took it up the hill quite easily, though it had taken twenty times that number to drag it down,² and that they could hardly do. With regard

¹ According to another account at Long Compton. In *Notes and Queries*, 1876, p. 291, appears the following version of the story. "It was said that a miller in Long Compton, thinking the stone would be useful in damming the water of his mill, carried it away and used it for that purpose, but he found that whatever water was dammed up in the day disappeared in the night, and thinking that it was done by the witches, and that they would punish him for his impertinence in removing the stone, he took it back again; and, though it required three horses to take it to Long Compton, one easily brought it back." In another version, given in *Folk-Lore Record* (ii. 177), the stone is wanted by a farmer for his outhouse. In taking it down-hill his waggon is broken and the horses killed. Next his crops failed, cattle died, &c. His only remaining horse is put into a cart and takes it up with ease. Then all goes well with him.

² The number of the horses on the two occasions varied in the different accounts given me. In one case it was 40 and 1, in another 21 and 3, in others 12 and 2, 8 and 1, 6 and 1, 23 and 1; but in most versions the stone was dragged up again by a single horse. At Long Compton the stone is said to have been taken down to a brook in "the Hollow" on that side of the hill which takes its rise beneath some ancient elms.

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to this tale, I found generally the most absolute belief among the country people, one man going so far as to say that there were those now living who had spoken to men who had helped to bring the stone down and up again, and "that it was done in Farmer Baker's day, who was not so very long dead." Stukeley at the beginning of the last century had heard the same story in a somewhat different shape. A man who had removed one of the larger stones was smitten with remorse or religious fear, and, according to one version of the story as it is still told, "Farmer Baker had no rest" till he had taken the stone back to its fellows. So, too, at Stanton Harcourt there is a tradition that one of the "Devil's Quoits" was removed to make a bridge and then replaced. No doubt in its original form the tradition took the same poetical shape as at Rollright; but in the rationalized version that has been preserved the stone was simply replaced by a member of the Harcourt family. But the essence of the Rollright story, the refusal of the stones to stay at the spot to which they had been removed, reappears in one of the earliest bits of old British folk-lore that has been preserved to us. Nennius, in his account of the "Marvels of Britain," relates that in the land of Buelt is a stone on a cairn with the imprint of the foot of the dog of Arthur Knight, and which Arthur himself set up. "And men come and carry off the stone in their hands for the space of a day and a night, and next day it is found again upon the cairn."¹

¹ Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, § 73. "Est aliud mirabile in regione qui dicitur Buelt. Est ibi cumulus lapidum et unus lapis superpositus super congestum, cum vestigio canis in eo. Quando venatus est porcum Troynt, impressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arthuri militis, vestigium in lapide, et Arthur postea congregavit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat vestigium canis sui et vocatur Cain Cabal. Et veniunt homines et tollunt lapidem in manibus suis per spacium diei et noctis, et in crastino die inveniunt super congestum suum." In a mediæval collection of the *Mirabilia Britanniae*, published by Hearne as an appendix to his edition of *Robert of Gloucester* (vol. ii. p. 572 seqq.), there is a similar tale. "Lapis est non magnus in vertice montis quem

Similar stories of megaliths returning to the place whence they had been removed by impious hands are also rife in France. Thus a holy stone in Poitou carried away by the people of the district during the Revolution returned next day of itself. With reference to this M. Salomon Reinach¹ appositely compares the ancient legend of the Penates, who when transported from Lavinium to Alba returned to their own home.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting feature in the Rollright folk-lore, so far as concerns the "Whispering Knights," is that the dolmen has become to the young girls of the neighbourhood a kind of primitive oracle. At least it has been so used within the memory of man. Old Betsy Hughes, of whom mention has already been made, informed me that years ago, at the time of the barley harvest, when they were often out till dusk in the fields near the "Whispering Knights," one of the girls would say to another, "Let us go and hear them whisper." Then they would go to the stones, and one at a time would put her ear to one of the crevices. But "first one would laugh and then another," and she herself never heard any whispering. Another old crone told me that the stones were thought to tell of the future. "When I was a girl we used to go up at certain seasons to the 'Whispering Knights,' and climb up on to one of the stones to hear them whisper. Time and again I have

si quis portaverit spacio duorum miliarium vel quantumcumque voluerit subsequenti die sine dubio in eodem loco in vertice montis unde assumptus fuerit inveniri" (p. 574). Carn Cavall still gives its name to a mountain in the upper part of Bualth, or Builth, in Breconshire, and "on one of the cairns of this mountain is a stone that still bears the impression of the dog's feet" (*Arch. Camb.*, 1874, p. 88; cf. *Mabinogion*, ii. 260). In another British legend of a similar nature the stone altogether refuses to be moved. In the "Vita Sancti Winifrede" (Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 205), a certain knight tries to remove St. Beuno's stone, which interferes with a mill-course. A hundred yoke of oxen fail, however, to move it, and the knight himself trying to stir it with his foot, his leg withers.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 344; *Varro de lingua latina*, v. 144.

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heard them whisper—but perhaps, after all, it was only the wind.” Who that has stood on the wooded steep that overhangs the ruined sanctuary of Dodona, and has heard the breeze rustling through the prickly leaves of its immemorial oak-wood, will not understand this primitive impression?

Whispering stones of the same kind are known in the Pyrenees;¹ and in other parts of France megalithic blocks are known to sing or talk, like the *Pierre qui Chante* of the Yonne and the two menhirs known as *Fistillerien* on the isle of Sein.² It looks as if primitive oracles of this nature had once been widely diffused in the Celtic and Iberian lands.

Some of the folk-tales about Rollright appear already in 16th and 17th century writers. Camden's allusion has already been quoted. Stukeley³ repeats Camden's story of the men turned into stone, &c., and says, “This story the country people for some miles round are very fond of, and take it very ill if anyone doubts of it: nay, they are in danger of being stoned for their unbelief. They have likewise rhymes and sayings relating thereto.” Further on⁴ he says, “The people who live at Chippin Norton and all the country round our first described temple of Rowldrich affirm most constantly, and as surely believe it, that the stones composing this work are a king, his nobles, and Commons turned into stones. They quote an ancient proverb for it concerning that tall stone called the King-stone :

‘If Long Compton thou canst see
Then King of England shalt thou be.’”

Stukeley himself notices that “the very same report

¹ In the Glen of Larboust, *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1877, pp. 241, 242, 244.

² S. Reinach, “Les monuments de pierre brute dans le langage et les croyances populaires” (*Rev. Archéologique*, 1893, pp. 337, 344).

³ *Abury*, p. 13.

⁴ *Abury*, p. 83.

remains at the Druid temple of Stanton Drew," Somersetshire. "This noble monument is vulgarly called the Weddings; and they say, 'tis a company that assisted at a nuptial solemnity thus petrify'd. In an orchard near the church is a cove consisting of three stones like that of the northern circle in Abury or that of Longstones; this they call the parson, the bride, and bridegroom. Other circles are said to be the company dancing: and a separate parcel of stones standing a little from the rest are call'd the fidlers, or the band of musick."

Stonehenge, regarded as the "Giants' Dance," "Long Meg and her Daughters," near Penrith, and "The Nine Ladies," near Bakewell, in Derbyshire, are other English examples of the same kind of tradition that at once suggest themselves. The stone alignments of Carnac and Ashdown are armies turned into stone. Classical parallels, such as the transformation into rocks of the Sidonian maids, companions of Melicertes,¹ or of Niobe and her daughters, or biblical, such as Lot's wife turned into the pillar of salt, illustrate the same idea. But in the case of the megalithic blocks composing the stone circles of primæval days, this ever-recurring tradition of their having been originally human beings turned into stone is in all probability, in some sense, coeval with the monuments themselves.

For the best commentary on these traditions we have in fact only to turn to certain parts of our Indian dominions, where megalithic piles in every respect the counterparts to those erected in Britain in prehistoric times are set up by the native tribes to this day. In their beliefs the connexion between the erection of these great stone monuments and the cult of departed spirits is brought out at every step. In some cases the setting up of these stones is not a mere honorary act, but the stone itself in some mysterious way personifies the departed and absorbs as it were his ghost.

¹ Ovid, *Met.*, iv. 549 seqq. Dr. Stukeley cites this parallel.

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The Khassias, for instance, a very wild jungle tribe of Bombay, set up a tall rough slab of stone near the house representing the deceased, to which they make daily oblations. In their eyes, then, it is the actual person, as it were, in a stony form. So too the dolmens are in some parts regarded as themselves the deified spirit of the departed, and thus as a demon or god.

We have moreover an interesting trace of the former prevalence of such ideas in Western Europe in a passage of Aristotle referring to the sepulchral rites of the Iberians, the representatives of the older pre-Celtic population of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, from whom in a large measure the Celts themselves seem to have taken over their megalithic cult. Aristotle¹ says that the warlike Iberians set pointed stones (*ἀβελίσκοι*) round their graves, and that each of these stones placed round a warrior's grave represented a slain enemy.

If, as is probable, human sacrifice was resorted to at these primitive funerals, the stones set round the grave might actually represent, and according to the Indian notion even to a certain extent personate, a human victim. So we find the memorial stones set over the grave in more than one region regarded as a kind of equivalent for the deceased, and in later times carved with his image, at first rude like the Kammayye Babe, or the Stone Women of the barrows that strew the Russian steppes, but in a more civilized society gradually assuming, as in ancient Greece, a more perfect or ideal likeness of the departed. It has been recently observed that many of the French megaliths contain traces of human features. Traditions such as those that still live on the site of Rollright and elsewhere, that these rude stone circles and dolmens and menhirs were once themselves flesh and blood, may I venture to think be traced back to those once widely prevalent primitive notions which transferred to the

¹ *Politics*, viii. 2.

stone that marked the resting place of the departed something of his very material being—notions which lie at the root of so much later idolatry. Occasionally the dolmen itself is personified and represents the deified departed; and in India, where every stage in this primitive belief may still be studied by modern observers, we find it leading up to local traditions regarding megalithic piles precisely similar to those that live on in our own folk-lore. At Shahpûr, for instance, in the Deccan, there is a great parallelogram of stones enclosing a low tumulus which contains layers of human ashes. One of these surrounding stones larger than the others is here supposed to be the chief and the others his men, and they are believed to be watching grey cattle in the middle space where stands the barrow.¹

It is only by going back within the primitive circle of such ideas as these that we can hope to find the clue to the ancient lore which is still handed on by these Oxfordshire villagers. The recurring tradition of the baker who brings small loaves one for each stone and then tries to count them—may it not go back to the times when offerings of small cakes and food offerings were still made as in India at the present day to such hoar-stones? The stones in this primitive belief had a being of their own—they might indeed be regarded, and often were regarded—as the stony dwelling places of souls that once were human. Could human kindness, then, refuse them such small offerings of food? There, too, on the parched hill-top, how often might they pant for the water-brooks below! What more natural than that when the darkness of night threw over them its invisible mantle—at the hour when spells are broken—they too should snatch a momentary life and hasten down to quench the thirst of ages?

¹ Col. Meadows Taylor, "Description of Cairns, Cromlechs, Kistvaens, and other Celtic, Druidical, or Scythian Monuments in the Deccan" (*Trans. of R. Irish Academy*, 1862 (24), pt. ii. p. 329).

PART III.

THE OXFORDSHIRE ROLAND AND HIS CONTINENTAL
COMPEERS.

In the local folk-lore regarding the King-stones we have been able to trace certain elements at least as old as the monument itself, and for which the most striking points of comparison are to be found in a large Celtic area. But the name that attaches itself to the spot in its two variant forms—Rowldrich as applied to the stones, Rollright to the two neighbouring villages—leads us in a very different direction. These names, although the fact has hitherto escaped the attention of our antiquaries, are of quite exceptional interest in connection with a whole cycle of legends relating to the early struggles of Christian paladins against the paynim South and heathen North, that have attached themselves to ancient monuments over a large part of the Continent.

The form in which the name appears in Doomsday as attached to the two villages now known as Great and Little Rollright is Rollandri. It may hence be inferred that the original form of the name must undoubtedly have been "Rollandriht"—the "right," as will be seen = the jurisdiction of Roland. The parallel and alternative form of the word Rowldrich or Rolldrich, more exclusively applied to the stones, leads us back to the same name. In a mediæval account of the *Mirabilia Britanniz*¹ the place where the stones stand is called Rolandrych. This is obviously a slightly later form of Rollendrīce or Rolland-rīce, the kingdom or dominion ² of Roland.

¹ Published by Hearne in his edition of *Robert of Gloucester*, vol. ii. p. 578.

² Like the German *Reich*, the Old English *rice* is untranslateable by any modern English equivalent.

The name thus takes us back to the time when "Roland the brave" stood forth as the legendary champion of Christendom against the Paynim. The historical Roland—in the original form of his name Hruodland—præfect of the Britannic March, is recorded by Einhard¹ to have been surprised by the Basques or Gascons at Roncesvalles during Charles the Great's retreat from his Spanish expedition in 778 A.D., and to have perished with the whole rearguard. Already by the middle of the ninth century, as we gather from the *Vita Hludowici*, this episode had become the subject of popular epic,² which from this time forth swelled in bulk and took many shapes in different lands and languages. Roland, with his "paladins and peers," becomes the heroic champion of Christendom against the Saracen. He himself assumes a giant's shape, his sword Durendal and his "dread horn" Olifanda find their place in many a tale of supernatural combat against paynim and ogre. That this cycle of legends early took root in England, mainly no doubt through Norman instrumentality, there is abundant evidence. The *Chanson de Roland*, the most perfect existing form of the romance, seems indeed to have taken shape on English soil between 1066 and 1095;³ and it was a lay of Rolland (*cantilena Rollandi*)—such is the earlier form of the name as at Rolland-right itself—that Taillefer sang before the Norman charge.

What, however, more nearly concerns our present subject, the name of Roland seems early to have connected itself with ancient monuments in many parts of Europe. In North Germany, especially in Lower Saxony and the

¹ *Vita Karoli Magni*, c.q.: "In quo prælio Egihardus regiae mensæ præpositus, Anselmus comes palatii et Hruodlandus Britannici limitis prefectus cum aliis compluribus interficiuntur."

² *Perls*, ii. 608: "Infortunio agente extremi quidam in eodem monte (sc. Pyrenæo) regii caesi sunt agminis. Quorum quia vulgata sunt nomina dicere supersedi."

³ See T. A. Archer, "Legend of Roland," in *Enc. Brit.*, vol. xx., 1886.

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Brandenburg March, the name of *Rolandsäule* was attached to a class of stone monuments, often of colossal size, standing in the market places of various towns, where such pillars,—in later times, at least, carved into the effigy of knights with sword and shield,—came to be regarded as a symbol of independent power, and a mark therefore of Free Cities of the Empire.

Apart, however, from this special class of Roland Stones, to which we shall have occasion to return, there seems to have been a general tendency to fit on the names of the legendary heroes of the early struggle between Christendom and Islam to ancient monuments, especially those of colossal size in various countries, at the cost of earlier cycles with which these mighty works of old had no doubt previously been associated. Sometimes this is the case with historic monuments. The great amphitheatre at Pola, for instance, is known as the “Orlandino,” or “Orlando’s house.”

Sometimes the name of Roland attaches itself to mediæval strongholds like the Castle of Rolandseck, or the Rolands-Thurm on the fourteenth-century wall of Frankfort-on-the-Main, or to a great bell like that of the Bellefort tower at Ghent. So, too, in Sussex, there is a “Rowland’s Castle.” At times we find the name of the paladin coupled with natural features, such as Roland’s Fountain, at Anghirra, on the Lago Maggiore. His name connects itself with a mountain, such as one near Naples, and another in Sicily, of which Godfrey of Viterbo writes :¹

“Mons ibi stat vastus qui dicitur esse Rolandus.”

¹ *Chronicon, Pars xvii.* Another Sicilian mountain, according to Godfrey took its name from Oliver.

Especially was this process at work in the case of rude prehistoric piles, and it is in this way, no doubt, that the name of "Sarsen" or "Sarcen" stones is applied to the huge blocks.

There can be little doubt that it is in the same way the name of Sarsen or Sarcen stones, as applied to the huge blocks of Avebury or Stonehenge, or the ordered stones of Ashdown, took its origin. The "Sarcen" is simply the old English name for Saracen, a name which had already taken this popular form, as we know from its appearance in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in days before the Conquest. As a matter of fact the name as attached to megalithic piles is not confined to England: a Breton dolmen bears to this day the name of "the Saracen's Oven" (*Four du Sarrasin*), and another in Guernsey that of the *Tombeau du Grand Sarrasin*. A similar application of the word Saracen to such monuments has in fact a wide currency in France.¹ At Forez there is a *Roche des Sarrasins*. Near Arles the megalithic galleries, or "allées couvertes," are known as prisons, or *magasins des Sarrasins*; in the East Pyrenees the dolmens are called by such names as the Moor's Cave, or Cabin, and in Spain the megalithic blocks become *pedras gentiles*.

So, too, the paladins, of whom Roland was the chief, and often Roland himself under his own name, are connected with such prehistoric monuments in France and elsewhere on the Mediterranean coasts. Near Taranto, in the extreme South of Italy, I have myself seen a dolmen locally known as the "Table of the Paladins" (*Tavola dei Paladini*). A dolmen in the Eastern Pyrenees is known as the *palet de Roland*² and a menhir of Corrèze as the *Grave de Roland*.³

¹ See S. Reinach, *op. cit.*

² *Congrès de Paris*, l. 173.

³ *Matériaux, &c.*, xx. pt. 1.

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The names Rollandright or Rollandrich—"Roland's Right," or "Roland's Realm"—attached to our Oxfordshire monument, with the ideas of jurisdiction and dominion suggested by them, bring it into a more special relationship than the general one indicated above. It is impossible not to recall the colossal figures of Roland, already alluded to, which were set up in so many North German towns, especially in Lower Saxony and the Brandenburg March. The "Rolandsäule," as such were called, represented, in mediæval times at least, a youthful knight in armour, holding sword, gauntlet, and shield, and came to be regarded as a symbol of independent power and a mark of the Free Cities of the Empire. The drawn sword held by Roland was an universal symbol of supreme judicial power—the *Blutgerichtsbarkeit*, or power of life and death—and in this aspect the Rolandsäule may be regarded as the later representative of the "pole of justice," the *Blut Säule* or *Gerichts Säule* of the Salic Law, which, from a sword being suspended to it, was sometimes known as the "Sword pole" (*Schwerdpael*).¹ Another form of this seems to have been the "Blood Stone," *Blutstein* or *Lapis sanguinis*, set up in places where moots were held and capital cases decided.² It also served to indicate market rights, and under the name of *Weichbild* gave the name to a Saxon Code. "The

¹ "Schwerdpael vor dem Gerichtsstoel." Document of 1452, J. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 852; Zoepfl, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Wehner (*Observat. practic.*, s. v. *Weichbild*, cited by Z., p. 337) who wrote at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, has an important note on the "Weichbild," another name by which (v. Gryphiander, *op. cit. infra*) the Rolandsäule was known. "Olim signari solitum ligneâ cruce in finibus cui imposita manus et gladius in signum der Gericht über Hals und Hand." He seems to have placed the Weichbild on the frontier in accordance with a very doubtful derivation given by him for the word from "Weichen," because those who came to it "wieder zurück weichen."

² Zoepfl, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Roland Statue, or ‘Rulandsbild’” wrote Gryphiander “is nought else than a ‘Weichbild,’ that is, an image by which it is made manifest that at that spot is a public forum for pleading and jurisdiction, a place of justice, a district or territory, or as the old Germans did properly call it a public *Mallum* (Moot), a Mahlstadt, where free imperial justice was holden.”¹

The Rolandsäule extend from Thuringia through the whole of North Germany on the one side to the boundaries of Holstein and Sleswick, on the other through Saxony and the Brandenburg March to Pomerania and even West Prussia. Many of them were originally of wood, and some wooden examples have survived, as at Nordhausen and elsewhere. From the dalmatic, royal mantle and crown that many of them wear, and from the eagle that they bear on the shield, it appears that in the Middle Ages they often took the forms of kings and emperors, so as the better to stand forth as the emblems of imperial power and privilege. In this sense we find Free Cities outside Germany which wished to proclaim their immediate dependence on the Empire setting up similar columns. As far afield as Ragusa, on the Dalmatian coast, where Orlando—to take the Italian form of his name—was traditionally said to have slain a Saracen corsair, a similar column was set up at an early date, and one in full armour, placed in the market-place in the Emperor Sigismund’s time, became for the Republic a badge of independent jurisdiction. In Lombardy, owing, doubtless, to the Frankish conquest, the same practice seems to have prevailed, the statue of Roland placed in the chief cities under the form of a knight holding a sword

¹ Gryphiander, *De Weichbildis Saxoniciis sive Colossis Rulandinis* (1625 ed., p. 254), who quotes Goldastus.

indicating there, "the supreme right or right of the sword" ("jus supremum quod jus gladii").¹

This "Jus Rollandi" of Lombardy and other parts of Charles the Great's empire gives us a clear insight into the order of ideas that gave birth to the names Rollandriht, Rolandright, or Rollright, for the Anglo-Saxon word *riht* includes the idea of *jus* in the Roman sense.² The crown set on the Roland columns of North Germany again takes us to our "King-stone," which, as the chief block at Rollright, was no doubt the one to which Roland's name specially attached itself, and to the alternative form of the name Rolldrich, Rollendrich, or Rollandrīce (Roland's realm). It is, however, sufficiently obvious that these names could only have been transferred to the megalithic pile on Cotswold by analogy. The circle standing hard by, which, according to some traditions, appears as the king's court or council, helped to make the parallel complete, and stood for the moot or *mallum*, which, as we have seen in North Germany, met before such monuments.³ How natural was this association may be seen from Dr. Plot's theory that Rolldrich was a place where councils

¹ In a transcript of a fourteenth-century Ragusan MS., entitled *Cronice le più antice di Ragusa* (in the Franciscan monastery at Ragusa), containing the account of Orlando's exploit against the Saracen corsair (who is given the unsavoury name of "Spuzente" or "Spucente"), there occurs the following gloss: "Rolland apud Longobardos. In Metropoli erigebant statuam videlicet armati hominis gladium ferentis hoc jus supremum quod jus gladii ostendendis (*sic*)."
See Wendelin Böheim, "Der Rolandstein in Ragusa" (*Mith. d. k. centr. Comm.*, &c., 1870, p. cxxxiii., *seqq.*).

² So *Ealdormanna riht*, Alderman's "law" or jurisdiction = *jus publicum dnre burge riht* = *jus civile*. *Rythes wyrde* = entitled to call in the aid of the law. (See Bosworth's *A. S. Dict.*, ed. Northcote Toller, s.v.)

³ Gryphiander. *Tract. de Weichbildis Saxoniae*, cap. 73, No. 7: "Est Rulands Bilt per quam notatur esse forum publicum causarum jurisdictionum, locum justitiae, districtum territoricum."

were held by the Danes for the election of their kings.¹

That such a name, however, should have been transferred by analogy to this old British monument in the days before the Norman Conquest is itself a most remarkable fact. It evidently points to Old Saxon influence during the period in question, and is of great importance in its retrospective bearing on the antiquity of the Continental Roland stones. The earliest documentary evidence of a Rolandsäule is in a *Privilegium* of the Emperor Henry V. to Bremen, apparently dated in the year 1110, allowing the image of Roland, which we may infer already existed in that city, to be "adorned with a shield and our imperial arms."² It hardly needed, however, this *præ-Norman* parallel in England to show that their origin must be traced to a considerably earlier date. From the many heathen usages and beliefs attaching to these columns throughout North Germany, which at times recall the Sword-God, Tiw, Chrôdo (the Saxon

¹ Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire* (1677, p. 339) cites Olaus Magnus account (*Monumenta. Danic.*, lib. I. c. 12) of similar erections in Scandinavia. "Reperiuntur in his oris loca quædam in quibus reges olim solenni creabantur pompa, quæ cincta adhuc grandibus saxis, ut plurimum duodecim, in medio grandiore quodam prominente cui omnium suffragiis electum regem imponebant magnoque plausu excipiebant."

² "In signum hujusmodi libertatis et gratiae licentiamus eisdem (civibus) qui in eorum civitate Bremensi possint signum et imaginem Rolandi ornare clypeo et armis nostris imperialibus." See Deneken, *Die Rolands-Säule in Bremen* (1828), p. 2 seqq. Zoepfl, *op. cit.*, p. 176 seqq. The impossible date "1111" has been corrected to 1110. The next record is at Halle (1341), then Hamburg (1375). From the fifteenth century the mention of them becomes common. Of existing examples none probably are earlier than the fifteenth century. The original monument at Bremen was of wood, Zoepfl, *op. cit.*, p. 171. It was destroyed in 1366 in civil strife, and set up again in stone in 1404. The existing Rolandsbild seems to represent the monument of 1404 as restored in 1512. It bears the inscription :

"Vryheid do ik ju openbar
De Karl und mannig Vorst verwahr
Deser Stadt gegeven hat
Des danket Godt is min Rad."

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Saturn), or even Woden, it is evident that, in their origin at least, they represent the rude stone or wooden images of the old Gods, baptized with a new name, and finally shaped after a more civilized model under the pressure of militant Christianity.

The most probable period in which they could have arisen is that which marks the destruction of heathendom in the North at the hands of Charles the Great and the Saxon Dukes during the ninth and tenth centuries. According to the legendary account, the columns were set up by Charlemagne himself in honour of his paladin Roland, who here appears as his son-in-law and as taking part in his Northern wars. By the middle of the ninth century the Roland of Romance was, as we have seen,¹ already in being, and his name may have already begun to attach itself to the christened idols before which, under their pagan forms, folk-moots had gathered and rude justice had been executed from immemorial time. What the Rolandsäule and kindred forms like the "Sword-pole" or "Blood-stone" really stood for in later times is curiously illustrated by a Scandinavian record preserved by Olaus Magnus. He tells us² that just as at Bremen a statue of

¹ See p. 35. Zoepfl, in accordance with a theory of his which connects Roland (Redland) with the "Red Emperor," would place the date of their origin in Otto II.'s time, that is, in the last half of the tenth century. But the process was in all probability very gradual, and may have begun a century earlier than this.

² Olaus Magnus, *De Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, lib. xiv. c. 15: "Quemadmodum præclaræ urbes Italiæ, ob excellentissima hominum ingenia vel facinora, pro eorum perpetuanda memoria, ingentes statuas posuere ut Verona suis Plinii, Mantua Virgilii, Roma Herculi: ita et Germanicæ ac Gothicæ civitates, ob heroica gesta, statuas virorum excellentium in locis publicis apponere non dubitarunt ut Brema sui Rolandi et Scheninga vetustissima urbs Ostrogothorum sui Thuronis longi qui duabus concatenatis saxis rationabili causa ad clavam in humeris dependentibus pingitur." Adulterers, he continues, were punished before this image with fines or death. In lib. vi. c. 18, again he says of the market place of Scheningen: "In hoc foro stabat gigantea statua Turonis longi nomine, instar Rolandi Bremensis, insignita ad cuius genua publica questione corripiebantur malefactores, præcipue adulteri."

Roland was placed in the market place, so at Skeningen, in East Gothland, there formerly stood in a similar position a colossal statue, holding a club to which two stones were suspended, and known as "Long Thor." This image, moreover, had a further correspondence with the German *Rolandsäule*, in that evil-doers, notably adulterers,¹ were brought before it for punishment or execution. Grimm² observes on this, that just as the legendary Charlemagne took to himself the attributes of Woden (Wotan), and headed the Wild Hunt, so his chief paladin Roland became in his turn at times Thunder or Thor, the Giant-killer.

The heathen superstitions still attaching to the German *Rolandsäule* are very numerous,³ and some of them show a curious resemblance to those which cling to the monument at Rollright. In Ditmarsh and parts of Holstein there was a shrovetide custom called "Rulandsritt," or "Rulandsfahrt." At Meldorf, where the ceremony survived to 1828 in its most perfect form, a puppet representing Roland dressed as a peasant in red old-fashioned costume, with a shield in one hand and a bag of ashes in the other, was driven round in a waggon accompanied by the villagers on horseback, and afterwards turned into a kind of quintain and tilted at, whoever broke the shield keeping the image till the succeeding year. In many places dances are celebrated round the *Rolandsäule* at Whitsuntide.

The Roland image is thought in many places to come to life at midnight. At Bramstedt, in Holstein, he turns round three times when the clock strikes twelve. At Wedel, also in Holstein, on the night of St. Walpurgis Eve (Walpur-

¹ So, according to early Frankish laws, women of bad character were shorn of their tresses before the "Pole of Justice" ("ad palum tondere"), and the same was actually done at Halle (Zoepfl, *op. cit.*, p. 60) before the *Rolandsäule* as late as the last century!

² *Deutsche Mythologie*, 326, 327.

³ They have been collected by Zoepfl, *op. cit.*, Zweite Abtheilung: *Nachrichten von den einzelnen Rulands-Säulen*.

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gisnacht), a harrow is placed against the base of the statue with its spikes inward. A number of witches are bound fast beneath this till midnight, but as soon as the tower-clock strikes twelve their chief, the Devil, sets them free. Thereupon they come out right and left from under the harrow, and, mounting on broomsticks, ride through the air before Roland's face. But Roland swings his mighty sword, and before the last stroke of midnight all are cut to pieces. With regard to the superstition that Roland starts into life when the clock strikes twelve, there are rife certain German catches which curiously remind us of what is said by the Rollright people of the King-stone, that he goes down to drink when he hears the clock strike. Thus at Stendal, in the Altmark, it is said that "if Roland hears the night-clock strike at midday he comes down from his stone perch and walks up and down the street."

The power to injure wheels possessed by our King-stone finds also some remarkable analogies in North Germany. Thus at Wedel, once more, in Holstein, the following story is told about the Rolandsäule. In Pastor Rist's time he was called shortly before midnight to go off some miles into the country that he might give the sacrament to a dying woman, whose husband had sent his servant with a cart to fetch him. When they were starting the man asked to be allowed to drive three times round the "Roland" that stands in the market place, "so that no ill luck may happen and that we may have Roland's help." The pastor allowed this to be done, but, we may believe, scoffed at the man's superstition, for in a wild part of the road the Devil (in which the pagan original of the image is easily discernible) broke one of the hind wheels of the cart. The man cursed, but the pastor bade the Devil in God's name to take the place of the wheel; which accordingly he was obliged to do, till they reached their destination. Similar stories are told of St. Bernard, in Bavaria.

This wheel story, however, in connexion with Wedel has

a special interest, if we may believe that Roland there represented an old local Saxon God called "Wedel," whose name and attributes are recorded by Meissen Chroniclers. His form was as of a man with rays to his head, holding a wheel before his breast with both hands.¹ This heathen "Wedel" has by Zoepfl² been brought into connection with a kind of sacred trunk Weda, or Weidenbaum (literally, willow-tree), of the veneration of which as a kind of Irminsul, by the Old Saxons, more than one record seems to have been preserved. Weda further appears as a legendary God with a shield on his arm like Roland. The wheel held by "Wedel," moreover, brings us at once into connection with the mysterious Saxon god "Krodo," whose idol King Karl is said to have overthrown on his conquest of the East Saxons in 780. According to the mediæval Saxon chronicle,³ which is our one source for this statement, King Karl in 780, after conquering the East Saxons, overthrew the idol "like unto Saturn, but of the people called Krodo, on the Hartesburg." This somewhat mysterious God the best comparisons with whom, according to Grimm,⁴ are to be found in Slavonic regions,⁵ reappears in the Anglo-Saxon form Sæterne (Saturnus) or Sætere, to whom *Saturday* owes its name, and the Burg of the East Saxon "Saturn," in the Harz finds an English parallel in the Sætersburg mentioned in a charter of Edward the Confessor. Krodo is described as standing

¹ Albinus, *Meissnische Land-und-Berg Chronica* (Dresden, 1589), p. 153: "Sein form ist gewesen eines Menschen so für seiner Brust mit beyden Henden ein Rad gehalten und ein breiten Schein mit Stralen gehabt." He connects this "Abgott" with "Sol," and brings in Salzwedel under the form "Soldwedel."

² *Op. cit.*, p. 154 *seqq.*

³ Bothes, *Sachsenchronik*, (Leibn. Scrip.) 3, 286.

⁴ *Deutsche Mythologie*, i. 171, 205, 206.

⁵ The Bohemian "Kirt," founded on one of Hanka's glosses, is indeed open to suspicion, and his "Sítivrat" (Saturnus) is exploded. Widukind, however (Pertz, v. 463), mentions a bronze "simulacrum Saturni" among the Northern Slaves.

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on a perch and holding a wheel.¹ When therefore we find the Roland Stones of the Old Saxon land connecting themselves with the cult of this heathen wheel-holder, we may at least allow for the possibility of his English equivalent the namegiver of Saturday having exercised some influence on the folk-lore of our Roland stones. The special power over wheels exercised by the King-stone at Rowldrich is in this connection certainly suggestive. The story has already been told of the man from Banbury whose impiety in taking a chip from the King-stone was visited on him by the locking of his wheel; and at Long Compton I heard another tale which, though told of a witch in the neighbourhood of the stone, rather than of the stone itself, suggests a still closer parallel to some of the German stories. A man driving a muck-cart on the road past Rowldrich met a witch. At that moment one wheel came off his cart, but thanks to the witch's power he drove on with a single wheel. Here we are not told that the witch herself, or the Devil, as representative of all the vanished powers of heathendom, took the place of the wheel as at Wedel, but we feel that the story may once have taken that form.

It has been perhaps worth while to suggest these parallels between the folk-lore of Rowldrich and 'the heathen traditions attaching to the Roland stones of the old Saxon lands. It is possible, however, that the likenesses that appear between the two are really due to more general causes, and in both cases belong to a common stock of beliefs regarding great stones and trees handed down by Celts and Teutons alike from very primitive times, and

¹ That the type of a wheel-holding divinity was early diffused in the North is now rendered certain by a relief on the wonderful silver bowl from Gundestrup in Jutland, where a Gaulish God is seen holding a wheel in his right hand. See Sophus Müller, *Det store Salvkar fra Gundestrup i Jylland* (1892), Pl. x., and p. 51. In representations of Gaulish divinities the wheel is a frequent attribute.

perhaps in both cases largely taken over from still earlier inhabitants of the land. In the local traditions attaching to the King-stones, a Germanic element may not be wanting; yet on the whole the character of the folk-lore seems to be rather that which, in historic times at least, has been generally associated with the old stone monuments on Celtic soil.

Be this, however, as it may, it is quite evident that the local names attaching to our Oxfordshire monument, Rollandríce or Rollandriht, Roland's Realm or Roland's Right, represent a comparatively late importation from the Continent, due to the influence of the Rolandsäule in Charles the Great's empire. It must not, however, for a moment be imagined that the King-stone of Rowdrich is a Rolandsäule in the formal sense in which the word got to be used in North Germany. We cannot suppose that the stone here, for instance, was ever a market stone, or was ever fitted with sword and shield, or hewn into a human effigy however rude. The name was in this case taken over by analogy merely. But that the name of Roland should have been taken over by an ancient monument in England already before the days when Doomsday was drawn up, is itself a highly interesting and instructive fact. The pre-Norman existence of a Roland stone in England supplies itself a most important argument for throwing back the origin of the North German Rolandsäule to a comparatively early date. Even then, however, it is extremely improbable that the name of Roland as the legendary champion of the imperial power against the heathen could have been given to the German monuments before the middle of the ninth century. By what agency, at some time between that date and the Norman Conquest, it was affixed to the megalithic pile of Cotswold remains uncertain. It may, indeed, be suggested that in this wild district on the border, perhaps at that time actually within the limits of Wychwood, some independent spirits found for them-

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selves a kind of No-man's-land, and using the analogy supplied by Old Saxony, turned the stone monument of an earlier age into a Roland of their own. In naming their settlement "Rolandright," they may thus have sought to assert their independence of a lord.

Of one thing at least we may be sure, that the hero with whom in historic times this monument was associated was no other than the legendary hero of Roncesvalles. The theory originally put forth by Camden, and recently revived by Mr. Ferguson,¹ that we have here a record of a combat in which Rollo the Dane took part,—so impossible both on historic and archæological grounds,—hardly needed refutation. When, however, in an account of the proceedings of the Anthropological Society² published as lately as 1875, we find Dr. Charnock reverting to Stukeley's derivation, "Rholdrwyg, the wheel or circle of the Druids," as "perhaps the most reasonable etymology," it may be admitted that it was high time that some attempt should be made to trace the true origin of the familiar names of Rollright and Rowldrich.

As a matter of fact, Roland himself is by no means unknown in English folk-lore, and the connexion in which he appears throws a double light on the appearance of his name in the present instance. There exists an old English story, consisting partly of prose, partly of ballad verses, the hero of which is "Childe Rowland," and who is there described as a son of King Arthur. Three verses of this ballad-story are quoted by Edgar in Shakespeare's *King Lear*,³ and the tale is told in full by Jamieson in his

¹ *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 126.

² *Anthropologia*, vol. i. p. 516.

³ *Act III., Scene 4:*

" Child Rowland to the Dark Tower came
His word was still ' Fie, Foh, and Fum,
I smell the blood of a British man.' "

The last two lines of the quotation refer to the King of Elfland and not to Rowland.

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*Illustrations of Northern Antiquities.*¹ Its scene is laid in "Merry Carlisle." King Arthur's sons, with their sister "Burd Ellen" in their midst, are playing at ball. Childe Rowland kicks the ball and Burd Ellen runs after it, but she is carried off by the fairies and shut up in the "Dark Tower" of the King of Elfland. This "Dark Tower" is further described in the tale as "a round green hill surrounded with rings" and entered by a stone passage leading to a more spacious chamber; in other words, as has been well pointed out by Mr. Joseph Jacobs,² it is a glorified chambered barrow such as that which contains the haunted vault of Maes-How. Childe Rowland, instructed by the Warlock Merlin, makes his way into the Dark Tower, and with the aid of his magic sword rescues "Burd Ellen."

The connection of "Childe Rowland" in this tale with a megalithic pile supplies an interesting parallel to the relation in which Roland the Paladin has been made to stand to the mighty monuments of a mysterious eld both at Rollright and elsewhere. Nor ought we to neglect the fact that in this instance he appears as a son of King Arthur. For though the name of Roland the Paladin has unquestionably been attached to the stones of Rollright throughout the period of which we have any record, it is obvious, from the late origin of the romance itself, that here, as in other cases, Roland has usurped the place and attributes of the god or hero of some earlier cycle. There can be little doubt that had Rowldrich been situate more to the West or North of our island the local folk-lore would have been linked with the name of Arthur. The tale of the stones that will not suffer removal recurs, as we have seen, in Arthur's Cairn; the story of the midnight journey

¹ *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities* (1814), pp. 397 seqq. The story has been recently republished with a valuable commentary by Mr. Joseph Jacobs in his *English Fairy Tales*, pp. 238-45, and *Folk-Lore*, vol. ii. pp. 182 seqq.

² *Loc. cit.*, see esp. Appendix to *English Fairy Tales*.

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to the water recalls the Cadbury tale of Arthur and his knights; here too we have dim hints of a king in a vault below the earth, who some day will come back to the light of day and will reign over all the land. At Stanton Harcourt, on the other side of the same forest region, the Devil is given the Quoits that West of Offa's Dyke are Arthur's. Considering that the name of Roland could hardly have been attached to the Rowdrich stones before the tenth or eleventh century, there seems at least a possibility that he may have here actually displaced the British hero.

But whether the local legends were at one period attached to Arthur or not, it is evident that taken as a whole they betray some very marked Celtic affinities. It is not too much to say that in this small district of Oxfordshire, cut off for at least twelve centuries from direct contact with the Celtic parts of Britain, there have been preserved all the most characteristic features of Celtic folk-lore regarding similar megalithic piles, such as we find them not only in the Celtic parts of England, in Wales and Ireland, but in Brittany in perhaps an intenser degree. Some of the folk-tales, indeed, such as those of the stones coming down to drink, seem to be better known at present among the Breton peasantry than in any part of our own island. This isolated and purely local survival of these old British tales, which in many cases indeed may have been Iberian before they were Celtic, how, it may be asked, could it have taken place at all unless the people who have handed down these primitive traditions belong themselves in a great measure to the old British stock?

We recall that the Wold on which the Rollright circle stood is part of the long range that still bears the half British, half English name of Cotswold, the latter part of which reduplicates the meaning of the Celtic *coed*. It is a bilingual name analogous to Benknowl in Somerset, and clearly points to some British survival. In the list of local names

occurring in the Perambulation of Wychwood in Edward I.'s reign (A.D. 1300), there is the name of one spot at least which has a curiously Cornish sound. "Tremaunmere," between Bishopsden and Akemanstreet, looks very like a word of the same kind as Cotswold or Benknowl. "Mere" is the old English for landmark. "Tremaun" seems certainly tremaen, "the place of the stone,"—perhaps a ruined dolmen like the Hoar Stone at Enston, which was also a landmark. It looks as if here again we had a form like Cotswold and Benknowl, in which the English termination is in fact the translation of the Celtic name expressed in the first part of the word. That the British *Maen* should take the form of "maun" is quite according to phonetic laws. It still takes the form of "mawn" in the dialect of Cumberland¹ where the Celtic element is known to have lived on to comparatively recent times, and where, indeed, Celtic numerals are still not unknown to the shepherds of the fells. By a parity of reasoning we are justified in believing that some lingering knowledge of the old British tongue survived in Wychwood far into the Middle Ages.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30th, 1894.

JOINT meeting of the Folk-Lore Society and the Irish Literary Society, held at the hall of the Society of Arts, the President of the Folk-Lore Society (Mr. G. L. Gomme, F.S.A.) in the chair.

A paper entitled "The Earliest Irish Conceptions of the Other World" was read by Mr. Alfred Nutt.

¹ See *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1884, p. 105.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20th, 1894.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.)
in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following announcements were made :

Resignations.—Mr. Hellier Gosselin, Surgeon-General Mackinnon, Mr. J. D. Tremlett, Mr. W. H. Babcock, and Mr. G. A. Macmillan.

Deaths.—Mr. J. W. Cook, and Mr. W. Kelly.

New Members elected.—Mr. G. R. Dampier, Mrs. George Payne, the New York State Library, and the Columbia College (New York).

Notes on Charming the Orchards and Burning the Ashen Faggot, by Mrs. E. F. Andrews (*infra* p. 93); on a Ross-shire Betrothal Custom, by Miss Constance Tayler (*infra* p. 94); and on a Cure for Rupture, by Mr. L. P. Lingwood, were read.

A paper on "Suffolk Leechcraft" was read by Dr. Wollaston Groome; and a discussion followed in which Mr. Baverstock, Mr. Nutt, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Clodd, Mr. Higgens, and the President took part.

Some "Folk-Lore Tales of the Uraons" were read by Mr. H. Raynbird, junior; and it was resolved that it be referred to the Council to consider whether the Society should approach the Government in conjunction with the Royal Asiatic Society with a view of obtaining help to get the Tales published.

A paper entitled "The Fancy," by Mr. J. O'Neill, was also read.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16th, 1895.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.)
in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following announcements were made :

New members.—Messrs. Eggers and Co., Mr. Bryan J. Jones, Mr. C. E. Levy, Mr. C. J. Seligmann, Miss A. Samuel.

Resignations.—Mr. J. Rogers Rees, Mr. W. G. Black, Mr. F. J. Johnston.

The following books, presented to the Society, were laid on the table, viz.: *Bibliography of the 1,001 Nights*, by W. F. Kirby, and the *Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society*, N.S., vol. ii. part iii.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, it was resolved that the Report (copies of which had been circulated in the room) be received and adopted (*infra* p. 109).

On the motion of Mr. Brabrook, seconded by Mr. Nutt, it was resolved that the following paragraph be added to the Report, viz.:

“The Council desire to take this opportunity of placing on record their high appreciation of the invaluable services rendered to the Society by Mr. Gomme during the three years he has filled the Presidential Chair, and to express a hope that they may for many years to come have the benefit of his experience and advice in carrying out the work of the Society in all its branches.”

It was unanimously resolved that the Balance-Sheet appended to the Report be received and adopted.

The President then moved, Mr. Jacobs seconded, and it was unanimously resolved, that Mr. Clodd be elected President for the year 1895.

Mr. Clodd thereupon took the chair, and upon his motion, the ladies and gentlemen nominated as Vice-Presidents, Members of Council, Treasurer, and Auditors respectively, were duly elected.

The new President then delivered his Address; and at its conclusion a hearty vote of thanks was accorded him on the motion of Mr. Gomme, seconded by Mr. Nutt.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

A STORY is told of the Consul Albinus, who accompanied L. Mummius into Greece b.c. 146, that on asking his readers to overlook the imperfections of a history of Rome which he had written in Greek, Cato remarked that, the task being self-imposed, Albinus was out of court in soliciting indulgence in the execution of it. I agree with Cato, and therefore shall make no plea for lenient criticism in the discharge of a part which it was within my power to decline to fill. Believe me when I say that I am very sensible of the honour which you have conferred upon me in asking me to occupy the presidential chair, and that I will do what I can to promote the interests of a Society with whose objects sympathy has increased as my connection with it has lengthened. When those interests appear, in your judgment, to suffer in my hands, I will strive to profit by the censure which will be my deserts. I would only have you remember what hard task lies before the successor to a chair which during the last three years has been filled by a man of unexampled ability and zeal. That successor may emulate; he cannot attain.

One of the difficulties which meet the president of a society of the "learned" sort on the threshold of office is the choice of a topic on which to address an audience many of whose units are so much more well-informed than the speaker. The duty may sit lightly if the address be simply a *résumé* of the papers read at the monthly meetings. And if to this be added an attempted survey of work done outside the Society, but the impetus to which has come from within the Society, then the address becomes a mere bibliographical summary, invested with the variety and charm of a catalogue.

Nevertheless, silence on these matters is impossible. There would be lack of graciousness, of becoming recognition of strenuous and valuable work, if, for example, no reference was made to the initial volume of the *Dictionary of British Folk-Lore* which Mrs. Gomme has compiled and annotated, and which produces sufficing evidence for according even to the romps and songs of children an antiquity and primitive meaning investing them with the highest importance as material in the study of custom. And if, within the limits which time imposes, only samples of the papers contributed to our *Transactions* can be drawn, choice must fall on Mr.—now Professor—York Powell's “Saga-Growth” and Mr. Arthur Evans's “Rollright Stones.” I count myself privileged, as one enjoying his personal friendship, that it falls to my lot this evening to offer to Professor York Powell the congratulations of this Society on his appointment to the chair of Modern History in the University of Oxford, a chair for which he is fitted, not only by his wide and sound scholarship, but also by his broad, human sympathies. The value of the paper on “Saga-Growth” chiefly lies in the insight which it affords into the origin and development of the saga and of the processes which vary it. We watch man, as it were, in the myth-making stage, just as in the present day in India the “generation, transmutation, and growth” of the popular religion can be watched. Sir Alfred Lyall tells us that “the various practices and beliefs are alive before us; the sequence of them is close. We can collect the evidence of our eyes and verify it by cross-examination of devout believers, men far above the mental calibre of ignorant savages and rude peasants.”¹

The Rollright relics had been already the subject of a brief paper by Thomas Wright, communicated through

¹ *Asiatic Studies*, p. 13.

Mr. Thoms,¹ but the slightness of treatment in what is only an enlarged note helps to bring into fuller relief the importance of Mr. Evans's exhaustive examination of the cromlech and its folk-lore. The latter is an example of thoroughness of method in its collection of material on the spot, while its value is enhanced by the references to variants or cognate legends which the well-equipped memory of the collector enabled him to supply. One never reads these old tales of stones that once were men without recalling the famous passage in *Eôthen*. In his chapter describing the journey from Nazareth to Tiberias, Kinglake says: "I rode over the ground on which the fainting multitude had been fed, and they showed me some massive fragments, the relics, they said, of that wondrous banquet, now turned into stone. The petrifaction was most complete."²

The presentment of information gathered at first hand is also a marked feature in the larger number of papers sent in during the past year, notably those by Messrs. Duncan, Groome, Moore, and Raynbird. These, with the miscellaneous notes, which are always welcome, and the publication of which is to be encouraged, emphasize the importance of studying folk-lore "a growing and a blowing," on the lines laid down by Miss Burne in her admirable paper in *Folk-Lore*, vol. i.³ Scarcely a week passes without some newspaper record of the persistence of superstitions among the illiterate, of some servant girl befooled by a quack, or countryman believing himself "overlooked," or some other and more hideous example that we have but to scratch the civilized man to reach the *vera cutis* of the savage. Last March, at Starnia, a village in Viatka, during the great Russian famine, some peasants belonging to a peculiar local sect drugged a beggar with drink, then cut

¹ *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. ii., p. 177.

² Pp. 313-330.

³ P. 168 (2nd edition).

his throat, beheaded him, and tore out his heart and lungs for use in sacrificial rites to propitiate the evil spirit Kourbane.¹ The sentences on these men were published in the papers of the 12th instant.²

Mr. Grant Allen told me that when he was last in Italy, he was informed by the Rev. W. Pulling, well known as the author of *Dame Europa's School*, and editor of Murray's *Handbook to Italy*, that "in a village in the Abruzzi the young men draw lots once a year to decide which should die for Christ. Whoever drew the fatal lot was secretly killed by another, equally drawn for the purpose, before the next Good Friday. It was accounted a great honour to die for Christ. Although these facts are known to the Government, it is unable to catch the perpetrator, because none will betray him." Mr. Allen had forgotten the name of the village, but no doubt Mr. Pulling would supply it.

This story came from Bucharest last month. There had been a long drought, and, following a world-wide superstition, it is a Roumanian custom to secure rain by throwing the clay figure of a child into the water. "Two small boys, aged fourteen and six respectively, appear to have determined to relieve their country and their neighbours by bringing on rain; and having no clay figure they drowned an infant of two years, and then bruited abroad the story of their feat." Both were tried for what, perhaps, was to them no crime; the younger was flogged, and the elder sent to prison for two years.³

Recent statistics of illiteracy show that of the population in South-eastern Europe 85 per cent. can neither read nor write,⁴ and under such conditions a fine crop of supersti-

¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 October, 1894.

² *St. James's Gazette*, 12 January, 1895.

³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 December, 1894.

⁴ Italy, 52 per cent.; Russia, 78 per cent.; Servia, 79 per cent.; Bulgaria, 85 per cent.

tions is of course annually produced; but as in England and Wales above 10 per cent. and in Ireland above 24 per cent. were in like illiteracy as recently as 1886, we need not travel beyond these islands for examples, nor feign surprise when we read of the sick swain of Chorley, in Lancashire, who, after consultation with gipsies, pricked his lady love with pins, that by the shedding of her blood he might break the spell which she had laid on him in the shape of a charm buried in her house.¹

If there had been nothing else in the matter of output during the past year, the work done would have been notable enough in the issue of Mr. Oliver Elton's translation of *Saxo Grammaticus*, enriched by Professor York Powell's lucid and interpretative Introduction. But for the generous labours of these scholars, the old Dane, mayhap, would never have appeared in English dress, and had not Mr. Nutt, with his usual disregard of personal interests where the interests of the Society are involved, shared with it the cost of production, the publication must have been deferred for a long time.

Of serious studies in folk-lore issued outside the Society two recent works demand notice, passing as this must be. In the *Legend of Perseus* Mr. Hartland has brought from the ample treasury of his knowledge a mass of material the significance of which, albeit only the first instalment of the book has yet appeared, is clear enough in its bearing upon the common legendary elements which form the unstable base of ancient and still accepted creeds. What could be said about this important work could not be said briefly, and I must hope for another occasion when the far-reaching effect of Mr. Hartland's study can be indicated. The second work, Mr. Kirby's *Hero of Esthonia*, is of high value as presenting for the first time in English a collection of archaic material embodying, like

¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 May, 1894.

that collected on the opposite shores of Finland, myths and customs of non-Aryan speaking races which have entered largely into Aryan folk-lore. Much has yet to be gathered from fields which in this country Mr. Abercromby and Mr. Kirby have made their own, for the more that inquiry is pushed, the more apparent is it that a very large superstructure of barbaric culture rests on Mongolian—I use the term generally—deposits.

But casting a glance at the list of publications of our Society since its foundation in 1878; at the publications of the numerous and lusty brood of societies, American and Continental, to which it is foster-mother; at the ever-growing collections of folk-tales; at the more elaborate treatises of which Mr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is a prominent example; at the invaluable, because unadulterated, items occurring in books of travel, even of fiction, as the novels of Thomas Hardy, with their abundance of Wessex peasant lore, evidence; at the local legends and customs published in the *Transactions* of County Natural History and Antiquarian Societies; at the references to superstitions such as that interesting example of the East Anglian smacksman who believed in his transformation into a sea-gull after his death by drowning, which Mr. P. H. Emerson tells of in his *English Idylls*; and, finally, but not exhaustively, at the newspaper reports of grim beliefs extant—well, the mass is appalling. We cry aloud, “Who is sufficient for these things?”

The establishment of some focus of common record, a sort of correspondence bureau, would keep us apprised of much that is now unavoidably missed. But it would not arrest the subdivision of labour, with its attendant evil of specialism, which is the bane of knowledge in the degree that it deadens the sense of relation, and obscures in the mind of the individual worker the subordination of the part to the whole. To keep before us the place and proportion of the thing we do is our salvation.

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typical group of stories would supply reasons for an armistice, if not for "peace with honour." After an incredible amount of labour, which without such erudition as accompanied it was vain, Miss Roalfe Cox gave us in *Cinderella* abstracts of three hundred and forty-five variants of that and cognate tales, with tables of areas in which they occur, and an illuminating discussion of the problem. But the result of all the toil is to leave the question exactly where we found it; and in the absence of documents this is what might have been expected. Mr. Lang—for the "husk" of anonymity cannot disguise him—in reviewing the book, remarks, "There is not a sign of her birth-country on Cinderella; not a mark to show that she came from India, or Babylonia, or Egypt, or any other old cradle of civilization."¹ Nor is there ground for including the question, to quote Sterne, among "the mysteries which must explain themselves, and are therefore not worth the loss of time which a conjecture about them takes up."² But it is at least some gain to know that an answer to the inquiry is not forthcoming, because we are thus set free for other and, perhaps, more important work.

That a large number of stories have originated in definite centres, and been carried from place to place *va sans dire*. Racial intercourse was already active in the later Neolithic age, and East gave to West of its intellectual as well as of its material products. Mr. Lang put the matter tersely and truly in his Introduction to Mrs. Margaret Hunt's translation of Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. "Much may be due to the identity everywhere of early fancy: something³ to transmission."⁴ And in a previous passage: "Folk-

¹ *Daily News*, 16 March, 1893.

² *Sentimental Journey*: The Passport ; Versailles.

³ "I should have said 'much' in both clauses." Introduction to Miss Roalfe Cox's *Cinderella*, xviii. But in a letter published in the *Academy*, 15 July, 1893, "much" and "something" are transposed by Mr. Lang.

⁴ P. xliii.

tales might well be scattered abroad in the same manner by merchantmen gossiping over their khan fires, by Sidonian mariners chatting in the sounding *loggia* of an Homeric house, by the slave dragged from his home and passed from owner to owner across Africa or Europe, by the wife who, according to primitive law, had to be chosen from an alien clan.”¹ Nor must we, in reference to this matter, neglect Mr. Hindes Groome’s arguments on behalf of those ubiquitous nomads, the gipsies, who, especially in past times, “had every facility for diffusing their stories among all conditions of men.”² Nevertheless, even so representative an anti-casual as Mr. Jacobs will agree that as the limitations of the human mind at corresponding levels of culture are the same, and that as the phenomena which it deals with have fundamental likenesses, we may look for extensive indigenous growths. Ideas are universal; incidents local. The conceptions, for example, of heaven and earth as one, and as forced asunder by some defiant hero, that light may be given to the children of men; and of a sky-piercing tree, whereby heaven can be reached, have given rise to myths and folk-tales “from China to Peru.” Strabo says that “in the childhood of the world men, like children, had to be taught by tales,”³ and thus their invention is the monopoly of no one race.

Turn where we will, odd correspondences meet us. In Dr. Groome’s paper on “Suffolk Leechcraft,” we were told of folk within his knowledge who carry a stolen potato in the pocket as a cure for rheumatism. In *Folk-Lore* of last March,⁴ among items of North Indian superstitions abstracted by Mr. Rouse (whose co-operation in a complete translation of the Jātaka is welcome news), we read that “images of the gods which are stolen from other people” are more highly

¹ P. xiv.

² *National Review*, July 1888, “Gipsy Folk-Tales: a Missing Link.” And cf. *Journal of the Gipsy Lore Society*, *passim*.

³ Quoted in Hatch’s *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 54.

⁴ P. 82.

valued as easier of propitiation, and also that the villagers try to steal the rags tied to sacred trees in a neighbouring village, as ensuring their better luck. One of the enactments of the Brehon laws was that of restraint by fasting, or the waiting of the plaintiff at the door of the defendant for a given time without food. The same custom obtains to this day in certain parts of India, where it has existed from time immemorial. It is known as "sitting *dharna*."¹ We may, perhaps, see in this another illustration of the primitive identity of law and religion; of legal obligations enforced by religious sanction or by operation on the fears of the debtor. The creditor may represent the tribal conscience, and so put the debtor on his honour. But more cogent reasons may have given rise to a custom the antiquity of which is indicated by its distribution.

The old Roman haruspicy exists among the Hawaiians, whose priests foretell events from the appearance of the intestines of the slain animal.² The Rex Nemorensis who guarded the Golden Bough in the sacred grove of Diana at Nemi may perhaps be equated with the Celtic champion Searbhaun of Lochlann who guarded the tree that sprang from magic seed, and who could not be killed by fire or water, but only by his own club. The Indian witch, who is supposed to suck the blood of her enemy through a string let down into a hole in the roof till it touches the body of the victim, has, at least in the method, her correspondent in the Australian medicine-man who sucks the disease out of a patient through a string. "The man holds one end of it, and the doctor sucks away at the other, spitting out the disease in the form of blood, which the patient believes

¹ *The Brehon Laws*, by Lawrence Ginnell, p. 163. Sir Frederick Pollock tells me that he "fancies that the *dharna* business is only a striking species of a fine old genus." For examples of the supplementing of defective civil sanctions by religious ones, both in Roman republican and in English mediæval law, down to the fifteenth century, see his *Oxford Lectures and other Discourses*, pp. 55, 60, and see Maine's *Early Hist. Institutions*, pp. 40, 297-301.

² *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, by King Kalakaua, p. 45.

has been drawn from his body, but which scoffers are apt to think comes from the gums of the doctor."¹ The belief that toothache is due to a worm has been fostered by quacks in every quarter of the globe.

In old Rome, when the augur stood on the Capitoline Hill, that portion of the heavens divided by his wand in which the birds appeared gave the ill or good omen. In Formosa, if the call of a certain bird be heard on the left, it is a presage of misfortune; and among the Maori a flight of birds to the right of the war-sacrifice was propitious if the villages of the tribe were in that direction. In the *Times* of the 5th inst. there appears a note from a Japanese official relating that directly after a naval battle between the fleets of China and Japan in the Yellow Sea a hawk alighted on the mast-head of one of the Japanese warships. The captain ordered a man aloft to seize the bird, which seemed glad to be caught. It "was naturally welcomed with enthusiasm as Heaven's messenger," and when the story became known to the Emperor he had the bird presented at Court, given comfortable quarters, and named after the ship on whose mast it settled: the ship's name being, in further proof of the good omen, Takachiho, "taka" meaning "hawk." The official who sends the story to the *Times* concludes it with hysterical rhetoric. The place of the woodpecker in classic and barbaric folk-lore seems more explicable by the "casual" theory; or the independent occurrence of the same myth or custom or tale with like plot and, in some cases, like incidents in widely separated localities. Among the Romans that bird, as Picus Martius, was sacred to the god; he plays an active part in Loango folk-tale; the half-breeds in Missouri regard this redcap goblin of European folk-lore as a great sorcerer; and how cleverly he befooled the bear that wooed the "putty lil gal" is delight-

¹ Quoted by J. G. Frazer in "A Witches' Ladder," *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. v., p 82.

fully told in Miss Owen's *Ole Rabbit the Voodoo*.¹ In Mongolian folk-lore the woodpecker appears as a servant of Moses, who, as a punishment for stealing his master's food, is transformed into a bird, and condemned to live on dry wood. In the story of "Gertrude's Bird" given in Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, the old wife refuses bannocks to the hungry Jesus and Peter, and is thereupon turned into a bird to seek food between bark and bole.² In Ojibway folk-tales the birds compete for kingship by testing who can fly the highest, when the prize is awarded to the eagle, because he had not only soared nearest to the sun, but had also carried the linnet on his back.³ In Grimm's "Willow-Wren,"⁴ in Campbell's *West Highland Tales*,⁵ and in Moore's *Manx Folk-Lore*,⁶ it is the wren who wins the sovereignty by mounting in like manner.

In Kaongo, on the initiation of a youth when attaining manhood, he lies down as if dead, and on rising takes a new name; in the Catholic Church the *Miserere* is chanted and a pall flung over the nun who takes the veil and effaces her old self under another name. Among the Hovas luck or ill luck is associated with days and numbers, recalling that "insipid play on numbers"⁷ which was a prominent feature of the old Etruscan religion, and which is in vogue among semi-civilized folk throughout the world. "When I see," said Vauvenargues, "men of genius not daring to sit down thirteen at table, there is no error ancient or modern which astonishes me."

You will, I fear, weary of further examples, and these, gathered haphazard, may suffice to support the contention

¹ P. 111. A variant of this occurs in Kaongo folk-lore.

² *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. iii., p. 328; *Dasent*, p. 213 (1888 ed.); and cf. Busk's *Folk-Lore of Rome*, p. 180.

³ *Algic Researches*, vol. ii., p. 216.

⁴ Vol. ii., p. 267.

⁵ Vol. i., p. 277.

⁶ P. 138.

⁷ Mommsen's *Hist. Rome*, vol. i., p. 191 (1888 ed.).

that the whole truth lies neither with the advocates of the "casual" nor of the "borrowing" theory, but in the mean.

There for the time being we may leave it, for one has now drifted far enough into desultory talk, endangering being classed among those, who in Archbishop Whately's definition, only say something, in contrast to those who have something to say. In face of the enormous accumulation of our material to which reference has been made, and of the sameness, not to say monotony, which one often feels characterizes much of it, I wish to suggest whether the time has not come to inquire into its general significance; to ask how far it tells for or against recent theories of man in his *tout ensemble*. The late Professor Henry Smith, of whom so many good stories are told, is said on one occasion to have congratulated his students on having assisted at the solution of a problem "the peculiar beauty of which was that under no circumstances could it be of the smallest utility." That observation cannot apply to the problems towards whose solution the science of folk-lore may render some aid. But more than one esteemed friend, in the spirit of the mathematician who, after reading *Paradise Lost*, asked, "What does it prove?" has put the same question to me about folk-lore; and even thrown out cynical remarks about the impending second childhood of the more or less middle-aged persons who meet together once a month to tell one another "creepy" stories. Even if only one such scoffer be among us this evening, it may be worth while an effort to redeem him from the error of his ways by seeking to show that folk-lore is no dilettante or objectless pursuit. To it nothing is "common or unclean." How can there be to that which is the study of the "thinker" (for such is said to be the root-meaning of the word *Man*) ; of all the thought of man; of all the forms that this has taken through the dim and dateless past; supplying the key to his interpretation of himself and his surroundings? It is, in brief, the psychical side of anthropology. And it has, as endowment, the

vitality and eagerness of youth. For anthropology is the junior among the sciences. Although M. Boucher des Perthes found rudely-chipped flints in the Somme Valley in 1839, he could not persuade his brother savants to admit that human hands had shaped them, until these doubting Thomases saw for themselves like implements *in situ* at a depth of seventeen feet from the original surface of the ground. That was in 1858. The *Origin of Species* was published in 1859. But in that book Darwin did not push his theory to its obvious conclusion; he only hinted that it would throw "much light on the origin of man and his history." His silence, as he tells us in the Introduction to the *Descent of Man*, was due to a desire "not to add to the prejudices against his views." That book appeared in 1871. But eight years earlier Huxley published his *Man's Place in Nature*, which was based on lectures delivered in 1860. In that book (the reissue of which is very welcome) Huxley demonstrates that there is no cerebral barrier between man and apes; that no justification for placing him in a distinct order exists; that, dealing with organisms generally, the attempt to draw a psychical distinction between the lower animals and man is futile; and that "even the highest faculties of feeling and of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life."¹

The discoveries of astronomy and geology had long dethroned the earth from the supreme position accorded it in the past, and put the "tepid bullet" in its duly subordinate place. And now anthropology, fortified by the evidence of palaeontology and embryology, establishes

¹ P. 109 (1863 edition); but the text of the new edition is unaltered. In a letter to me Mr. Huxley says: "I was looking through *Man's Place in Nature* the other day. I do not think there is a word I need delete, nor anything I need add except in confirmation and extension of the doctrine there laid down. That is great good fortune for a book thirty years old, and one that a very shrewd friend of mine implored me not to publish, as it would certainly ruin all my prospects.

the fact of man's inclusion in that universal order whose demonstration was the crowning triumph of his quest after the truth of things. But veneration for old beliefs and the "pride of life" are manifest in the hesitation which the majority of persons feel in accepting the extension of the doctrine of development to man's psychical nature. And it is here that the evidence with which folk-lore concerns itself is of value, as no other evidence can be. Rows of skulls—brachycephalic, dolicocephalic, mesocephalic—touch us never so keenly as conception of the ideas which once vibrated through their now hollow cavities, and which set us moralizing like the gravedigger over the bones of Yorick. In the *Phædo*¹ Socrates speaks of his delight at the first utterance of the word "mind." "He who uttered it," says Aristotle, "stood out as a sober man among random talkers."² True, man was far advanced, had, in brief, become a Greek before he had the mental power to read "the long and difficult language of facts." But the first step towards that was made in his endeavour to understand the nature of things; to arrive at some seeming law of causation.

What light, then, does folk-lore, which, as we have said, is the psychical side of anthropology, throw on these primitive workings of the mind; and in what degree does it contradict, amend, or confirm the theory of man's gradual ascent from savagery through barbarism to civilization, and of his consequent inclusion in the law of development?

The keynotes of evolution, let me remind you, are unity and continuity. All physical investigation is more and more influenced, indeed, stimulated, by the feeling that under diversity of form there is identity of substance; that the various elements are modifications, allotropic manifestations of a *materia prima*. That feeling has

¹ Jowett's translation, vol. i., p. 476 (c. 97.)

² *Met.*, i. 3, 984, b. 17.

ample warrant in the discoveries of modern physics. And the investigations of the folklorist are aided by a like feeling, not only because it is now his surrounding atmosphere, but because all the evidence seems to point one way. Experience has taught the unwisdom of too hastily referring origins to one source which, on further examination, has proved but a branch of the parent stream, so that what was regarded as primary turns out to be secondary. Keeping this in remembrance, we may nevertheless, if only as stimulus to fuller inquiry, ask whether the great body of evidence in hand does not, under analysis, indicate its common origin from some *materia prima*? It has become a truism amongst us that man on the same mental plane explains similar phenomena in much the same way. May we not, in our search after the attitude of his mind at the lowest plane where cognizance of its attempt at explanations is reached, assume that there was universal assumption of identity—the drawing of no hard and fast line between the living and the non-living? Mr. Herbert Spencer denies this. He says that the “assumption, tacit or avowed, that the primitive man tends to ascribe life to things which are not living is clearly untenable,”¹ and that such ascription is a secondary belief into which he is betrayed during his early attempts to understand the surrounding world.² I confess that I do not follow Mr. Spencer in this argument, which appears to be contradictory, but in this matter an ounce of observation by a competent traveller is worth a ton of speculation by a philosopher. So let us hear what Mr. im Thurn has to say about the Indians of Guiana, who are, presumably, a good many steps removed from so-called “primitive” man. “The Indian does not see any sharp line of distinction such as we see between man and other animals, between one kind of animal and another, or between animals—man included—

¹ *Principles of Sociology*, p. 143.

² *Ib.*, p. 146.

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have the same effect, but this quotation
of the lawyers of time might be easily
misinterpreted as the animistic beliefs
of savages. The trial of inanimate
objects is a form of superstition, and there-
fore a certain vigilance may be needed to
guard against such as the sailors lashing the Hellespont for
the drowning of the Gyndes for drowning
the dead, and the impious Pheron spearing
the dead, or the voices of survivals whose
phantoms still flit about when Charon flies over the raging sea.
The Chinese negroes and the Papuans cast
stones at the sun, and when the Catholic peasant
was tried among the Welsh jury who,
in 1868, condemned the destruction of a gun which
had exploded, he defence in this last example,
that it had been the cause of death
of a man, and the whole is the con-
cept of the "curse of the living." This is
a very common association of Ideas, which
is not always really alive and assumes

relations between them. Dr. Tylor has dealt with this at length in *Primitive Culture*, and his clear and illustrative exposition has been supplemented by Frazer and other investigators. But the principle seems to me capable of an all-round application; to be a sort of master-key to psychical activity.

Life is equated with movement; power is equated with life; dread is equated with power in the degree that the measure of the power is unknown. In his delightful book on *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*¹ Professor Butcher says that "mountains and lonely woods and angry seas, in all periods of Greek literature, so far from calling out a sublime sense of mystery or awe, raise images of terror and repulsion, of power divorced from beauty and alien to art." Literature as late as Howell's *Familiar Letters* and the correspondence of the poet Gray evidences how modern a conception is that love of Nature which "casts out fear." And how much the remarks of Professor Butcher apply *a fortiori* to the barbaric mind, with its dread of the phenomena whose might is an unknown quantity, is obvious.

Mr. Codrington says that among the Melanesians "the character and influence of the spirit connected with any sacred stone was judged by the shape of the stone" (*cf.* Mr. im Thurn, *supra*, p. 69). "If a man came upon a large stone with a number of small ones beneath it, lying like a sow among her litter, he was sure that to offer money upon it would bring him pigs."² If the arrow which has wounded a man be retained, "it is kept in a damp place or in cool leaves; then the inflammation will be little and soon subside."³ *Per contra*, the man who shot the arrow will keep the bowstring taut and occasionally pulled, to bring on tension of the nerves and the spasms

¹ P. 265.

² *The Melanesians*, p. 181.

³ *Ib.*, p. 310.

and inanimate objects. On the contrary, to objects, animate and inanimate, seem exact nature, except that they differ in the acc form. Every object in the whole world i sisting of a body and spirit, and differs object in no respect except that of bod the greater or less degree of brute cunning consequent on the difference bodily habits. Our next step, therefo animals, other than men, and even have spirits which differ not at all of men."¹

Much more follows to the same effect, and but for the exigencies paralleled from other authorities of barbaric and classic peoples. objects was a feature of Athenian fore something more than petrify explain such actions as Xerxes scattering his fleet, Cyrus punishing a sacred white horse, and the Nile. These acts are the full note we hear when the or when the Gold Coast n offerings therein to calm it. whips the image of his saint as recently as 1888, ordered had killed a man, although we may trace the influence or forfeiture of chattels w of human beings. But exception of the non-living based on the barbaric sees like qualities in t

churchyard."¹ Had
the torical character of
of his hair denoted,
do not cut it lest they
have rested his head so
And the reason is clear
of the royal expectorations
of high rank, who held the
cer to the king.

No of the idea is the world-
soul with its power to enter the
or even inanimate objects, a
use of accepted theories of man's
n treated exhaustively in Frazer's
i may cite an illustration from the
. 1891, in further proof of the activity
on Dr. Catat and his companions, MM.
art were exploring the "Bara" country
ast of Madagascar the people suddenly

, p. 337. The last number of the *Deutsche Revue* gives an
of the troubles of Franz von Defregger in obtaining models.
professor of Munich generally chooses his subjects among his
and's-folk, the Tyrolese. Finer models it would be hard to get,
one fatal superstition, that whoever allows himself to be
painted, or drawn will obtain a speedy immortality through the
ever may be his fate on canvas. Thus, in '73, when painting his
(say) *Letztes Aufgebot* and other pictures, he spent months in a
beer-house before he could find a likely model, and when he got
into his studio it was all in vain; for no sooner had he seen the
s, darts, pikes, and a complete suit of armour, than he shied back,
fessed a faintness of stomach, and fled downstairs. With his second
he advanced a little further, but as soon as he was clad in armour,
brandishing an ancient battle-axe, a stout countrywoman rushed in:
"Was! du willst mit dem Landsturm gehen? Das sollst du nie und
nimmer?" And seizing him, armour and all, she ran him down the fatal
stairs. Outside she held him fast, and stripped off his armour piece by
piece, then, leaving the disused panoply lying in a heap, she hurried him
home, a model husband, but not a model hero.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, 18
January, 1895.

of tetanus to the wounded man. Here, though wide sea-roll between them, we may compare the same philosophy of things at work; the Melanesian keeping his arrow cool, Sir Kenelm Digby rubbing his sword with "sympathetic powder," and the Suffolk farmer guarding the sickle, with which he has cut himself, free from rust, so that the wound may not fester.

It would be "carrying coals to Newcastle" to pursue the Proteus-shapes in which the same idea of sympathetic or antipathetic magic may be traced. We see it in folk-medicine, with its doctrines of "seals or signatures," as in the use of yellow flowers for jaundice, eyebright for ophthalmia; in the poetic remedy among Umbrian peasants in nourishing the consumptive on rye-buds and dew; or in the pathetic remedy when the mother takes her child, wasting away with sickness, and seats some boundary stone, perchance once sacred to Hecate, and asks God to put a limit to the illness or sufferer's life. The Cherokee make a decoction of the flower for weak eyes because of the fancied resemblance of that plant to the strong-sighted eye of the deer. They drink an infusion of the tenacious burrs of the common beggar's lice, an American species of the genus *Ligustrum*, to strengthen the memory. To ensure a fine son they boil crickets and drink the liquor. We see traces of the same idea in the supposed vital connection between a man and his hair, nails, and saliva; even between a man and his name or portrait.

Mr. Hindes Groome relates his vain attempt to win a gipsy girl. "I won't have her draw'd out again." "I told her I'd make her scrawl the earth, and she let herself be draw'd out again." "What's there to be?" "I know there's a fizzy water, and it was my youngest that the gorja drav'd out. Heath, she never held her head up."

great cattle plague broke out, certain divines said that it was intended as a judgment on the nation because of the publication of Colenso's heretical book on the Pentateuch; and a recent writer on the awful scourge of the fourteenth century cuts short inquiry into the origin of the fell disease by saying "that it was a chastisement sent by God Himself."¹ People who talk like this are on the lowest barbaric plane, with the added discredit that they sin against light. And if there be any followers of such in this audience, let them read what Mr. Lecky has to say on the matter in the third chapter of the first volume of his *History of European Morals*.

Returning to the prime idea which has been thus cursorily expounded—the assumption of identity of qualities, differing only in degree, based on superficial analogies—the point on which I desire to lay stress is that herein we have adequate material for the manufacture of whatever is to be included under the term folk-lore. In the belief in sympathetic interchange and interrelation between man and the lower animals, and between the living and non-living—in other words, in the zoomorphizing of everything—we have our *materia prima*; the raw material of the folk-tale; of all—and how much this means—in which magic, black and white, plays its part; of the larger body of myth; of festival and ceremonial custom; of barbaric philosophy; and, finally, of all religions with the rites and ceremonies which, in the majority, are fundamental parts of them. It is, therefore, along the ancient lines of human thought cleared by folk-lore that the psychologist, the theologian, the historian, and especially the sociologist, must travel in their search for origins:

One advantage possessed by our inclusive science is that the evidence which it presents is not disturbed by the intrusion of unsuspected elements. It is a science of survivals, not of discoveries. All the thought of man in pre-scientific

¹ *The Great Pestilence, A.D. 1348-9*, by F. A. Gasquet, p. 11.

ages may be classed as folk-lore. Old, therefore, as thought itself in the human sense, although not so old as the apparatus of thought, it brings its "great cloud of witnesses" to testify that the evidence about man's psychical past is in accord with that about his physical past; the roughly-fashioned flints with which he made shift during vast periods are typical of the rude and narrow stock of ideas which were his mental equipment during periods equally vast. Folk-lore traces the development of these ideas from the lowest and grossest animism to the higher philosophy; from guesses and illusions to certainties; just as prehistoric archæology enables us to follow the advance in mechanical methods, from unground palæolith to exquisitely-shaped barbed arrow-head.

But upon this question of the value of folk-lore in support of the general doctrine of evolution which is not only in the air, but is the very air itself, opinions may differ. In his presidential address in 1893¹ Mr. Gomme remarks that that doctrine is so strong upon us "that we are apt to apply its leading idea insensibly to almost every branch of human history. But folk-lore being what it is, namely, the survival of traditional ideas or practices among a people whose principal members have passed beyond the stage of civilization which those ideas and practices once represented, it is impossible for it to have any development."

I have no doubt whatever that our late president is as convinced of the truth of the theory of evolution as his successor has declared himself to be. And this makes it the more important to correct a frequent misapprehension which the words just quoted might tend to strengthen, namely, that evolution implies continuous development. It does nothing of the kind. It includes arrest and degradation as well as advance from the simple to the complex. Its key-note is *adaptation*. When once equilibrium between an organism and its surroundings is established, there is

¹ *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. p. 6.

cessation of modification. The lower life-forms, which constitute the vast majority, have undergone little, if any, change since the beginning. Their simplicity has been their salvation. It is when the environment changes that the organism must adapt itself, or perish in the struggle for life which then ensues between it and competitors of greater adaptability. On this showing, the evidence producible by folk-lore seems to me singularly applicable in support of the theory of evolution. The low intellectual environment of his barbaric past was constant in man's history for thousands of years, and his adaptation thereto was complete. The intrusion of the scientific method in its application to man disturbed that equilibrium. But this, as yet, only superficially. Like the foraminifera that persist in the ocean depths, the great majority of mankind have remained, but slightly, if at all, modified, illustrating the truth of the doctrine of evolution in their psychical history. Therefore the superstitions that still dominate the life of man, even in so-called civilized centres, are no stumbling-blocks to us. They are supports along the path of inquiry, because we account for their persistence. I would explain it thus. Thought and feeling have a common base, because man is a unit, not a duality. But the exercise of the one has been active from the beginnings of his history—indeed we know not at what point backwards we can classify it as human or quasi-human — while the other, speaking comparatively, has but recently been called into play. So far as its influence on the modern world goes, may we not say that it began at least in the domain of scientific naturalism with the Ionian philosophers? Emotionally, we are hundreds of thousands of years old; rationally, we are embryos.

In other words, man wondered countless ages before he reasoned ; because feeling travels along the line of least resistance, while thought, or the challenge by enquiry—therefore the assumption that there may be two sides to a

A Folk-lore Address.

... obstructed by the dominance of custom, and the strength of pre-
judice. Folk-lore takes up the cue from
history; explains the persistence
of customs, of man's tardy escape from the
old ways, and the general conservatism of
the race. "Life! in vain, Opinions, those or
those, the obstinate mind decrees," as in
Heine's *Travel-Pictures*.
A Spaniard dug up an ancient stone idol in
Spain, and may he found that it had been crowned
with flowers. And yet the Spaniard had
brought Mexican religion with fire and sword,
and the Indians had been engaged in ploughing
up their minds and implanting the seed of
superstition. The causes of error and delusion, and of the
perpetuation of customs of olden time, being made clear, there is
a generous sympathy with that which empirical
science has done for man, and a just estimate of the
high estate. Superstitions which are the
hand-maiden of ignorance can only awaken pity. Where the
hand-maiden of knowledge is absent, we see that it could not
have been. And we learn that the art of life largely
depends upon the control of the emotions and that diversion
into wholesome channels, which the intellect,
with the latest knowledge, can alone effect.

Now, however, another order of superstitions, towards
which, in seeking the justification of the older, and having no
such scruples about them, the attitude of the folklorist
and of myself seems to me, wholly different. Of course, my
attention belongs to that class which is among us in more or less
disguise, and which enjoys the patronage of the
Society for Psychical Research. That society may disclaim
any connection with the motley company who are its allies, but the only
difference between the several groups is in the degree of

certainty which each believes has been attained respecting the validity of the phenomena purporting to be "caused by spiritual beings, together with the belief thence arising of the intercommunion of the living and the so-called dead."¹ In its advertisements the Society says that it "will be grateful for any good evidence bearing on such phenomena as unexplained disturbances in places supposed to be haunted; apparitions at the moment of death;" and so forth. Analysed under the dry light of anthropology, its psychism is seen to be only the "other self" of barbaric spiritual philosophy "writ large." It disguises the old animism under such vague and high-sounding phrases as the "subliminal consciousness," the "telepathic energy," the "immortality of the psychic principle," the "temporary materialisation of supposed spirits," and so forth. The Society will sell you not only the *Proceedings* containing these precious phrases, but also glass balls of various diameters for crystal-gazing from three shillings upwards. The American prophet, Thomas Lake Harris, has some fine writing on the "harmonic heavens operating on special organizations among the children of earth." With less vagueness, the anonymous author of a book entitled *Soul Shapes*² classifies the soul according to quality and colour. There are illustrations to the text. "Surface" souls are octopus-shaped, and tinted in varying shades of yellow with red patches, these last denoting religion and duty; while "deep" souls are four-cornered, and coloured a dingy brown with red spots. This may be termed Phrenological Psychology. Advancing a step nearer the concrete, Miss Florence Marryat, in a book called *The Spirit World*,³ published last autumn, describes the state of the soul directly after death. It is "connected with the body by

¹ Art. "Spiritualism," by Alfred Russel Wallace, *Chambers's Encyclop.*, vol. ix. (1892 edition).

² Published by T. Fisher Unwin, 1890.

³ F. A. White and Co., 1894.

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much could be said about the absence of any contribution of the slightest value by them to our knowledge of a spirit-world; much, too, upon cognate matters. But it is time to make an end. The chief aim of my remarks, which have no pretence to novelty, has been to show that folk-lore brings its weighty support to that theory of unity and continuity in man which involves his inclusion in the universal order. That being so, the sympathy begotten of true understanding of ancient myth and speculation becomes antipathetic to this modern spirit of disorder, which, "letting I dare not wait upon I would," skulks in dark chambers that mayhap it may hear the twaddle of witless ghosts. Be the moral heeded or not, it is supplied in the following story told in Mr. A. H. Savage Landor's just published book on *Corea*: "A few months previous to my visit to Seoul, a foreigner had visited the king soliciting orders for installations of telephones. The king, being much astounded, and pleased at the wonderful invention, immediately, at great expense, set about connecting by telephone the tomb of the queen dowager with the royal palace—a distance of several miles. Needless to say, though many hours a day were spent by his Majesty and his suite in listening at their end of the telephone, and a watchman kept all night in case the queen dowager should wake up from her eternal sleep, not a message, or a sound, or murmur even, was heard, which result caused the telephone to be condemned as a fraud by his Majesty the King of Cho-sen" (p. 122).

But you will please remember that in whatever has been said I do not speak *ex cathedra*. I wish my remarks to be taken as an individual attempt at stock-taking, and leave you to judge how far the rich assets which folk-lore possesses have been rightly valued.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6th, 1895.

JOINT meeting of the Cymrodorion Society and the Folk-Lore Society, held at 20 Hanover Square, Mr. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P., in the chair.

On the motion of Mr. Nutt, seconded by Mr. William Evans, it was unanimously resolved that a letter be written to the family of the late Lady Charlotte Schreiber (formerly Lady Charlotte Guest), the translator and editor of the *Mabinogion*, condoling with them in their bereavement, and expressing the high appreciation in which both Societies held her invaluable services to the study of Welsh romantic literature.

Professor Rhys read a paper entitled "The Story of *Twrch Trwyth*," and a discussion followed, in which Mr. Nutt, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Clodd, Mr. Edward Owen, and others took part.

SOME COREAN CUSTOMS AND NOTIONS.

BY T. WATTERS

(Formerly in charge of H.B.M. Consulate-General at Sôul).

ON the 14th and 15th days of the first month of each year, every man and boy in Sôul, the capital, walks over three particular bridges in succession. By doing so, exemption from pains in the legs and feet is procured for one year.

There is another curious custom in Corea in connection with the above-mentioned days. All men and women born under the Jen or "Man" star make certain straw images on these days, and especially on the 14th. These images are sometimes dressed with clothes, and each one contains a number of the copper "cash" constituting the currency of the country. There ought to be as many cash in an

image as the person making it is years old, but the rule is not strictly followed. When the images are complete they are placed on the path outside of the house, and the poor people seize them and tear them up in order to get the "cash" which they contain. The destruction of the image, or figure saves the person represented from death for ten years. It is, accordingly, only once in ten years that the ceremony must be performed, but it seems to be observed every year, at least by some.

Small-pox is supposed by the Coreans to be the work of a malevolent demon, and hence its name among them, viz. Ok-Sin or Plague-God. When a child dies of small-pox its body is not buried, but is tied up in straw and hung on the city wall in Söul or from a tree. The body is thus hung up because it is believed that there is a chance of the spirit which had left it returning to it again. But some say that the deceased child is thus hung up in order to secure a longer life for the next-born. It is chiefly daughters, I believe, whose dead bodies are treated in the manner here indicated. The custom is explained as having arisen from an actual occurrence. On one occasion a young girl died in Söul and her parents were unable to bury her. They wrapped her up in paper and left her hanging from the city wall above the reach of beasts of prey. During the night a poor man, who had taken shelter near the spot where the corpse was hanging, heard it utter sounds. He found the body reanimated, took the girl down, and made her his wife.

If a younger brother dies of small-pox in a family in which there is an elder brother, the deceased may not be interred until after the lapse of thirteen days from the date of death.

The moon of the 15th of the first month is carefully and anxiously observed by the Coreans in order to obtain prognostics for the year. If the moon is what is called "thin," that is, dull and pale, the year will be a bad one. The crops will fail, trade will be bad, there will be much sickness, and things generally will go wrong. If the "thin-

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circumstances otherwise

- - - are much feared and generally believed in their great power.
- - - were long-continued sickness, such as and other circumstances for remedy. The exorcists may be the latter seem to be more in
- - - The women whom I have seen exorcising malevolent demons were - - - and had an almost terrible

REVIEWS.

HOUSEHOLD TALES WITH OTHER TRADITIONAL REMAINS
COLLECTED IN THE COUNTIES OF YORK, LINCOLN,
DERBY, AND NOTTINGHAM. By SIDNEY OLDALL
ADDY, M.A. Oxon. London: D. Nutt. Sheffield:
Pawson and Brailsford. 1895.

THIS is a collection of fifty-two traditional tales and fragments of tales, followed by a collection, occupying two-thirds of the volume, of "Traditional Remains." It may at once be said that it is a genuine and valuable addition to the still accumulating quantity of British folklore. The editor contributes a thoughtful and sound introduction, in which attention is drawn to some of the most interesting and important questions arising out of the traditions comprised in the subsequent pages, parallels are pointed out, and inferences for the most part drawn with accuracy and wise restraint. The reader will not always agree with Mr. Addy's conclusions. He will think, for instance, that a Scandinavian origin is wrongly ascribed at times to story or custom which is probably far older. But nobody who has studied the subject agrees with all that even Dr. Tylor or Mr. Frazer has put forth; yet none the less we acknowledge the splendour of their services to science and the weight of their opinions wherever they have expressed them. Mr. Addy, too, can well afford to find that those for whom he writes do not accept all his inferences, since where they differ from him they will ungrudgingly admit that he does not write like the German in the story, who "evolved the idea of a camel out of his inner consciousness," but in a true scientific spirit.

The tales bear signs of weathering; and some of them are mere shards and splinters. But we are thankful for them all. In *The Small-tooth Dog* we have the first

recorded English version of *Beauty and the Beast*, though Halliwell gave us years ago the related story of *The Maiden and the Frog*. In *Sugar and Salt*, too, for the first time, we find in England a type of *The Outcast Child* popular enough on the Continent. Discoveries like these raise hopes that more remains of our ancient dower of folk-tales may yet be brought to light. The version of *The Sheep's Head and Dumplings* with which I was familiar as a child, was not quite the same as Mr. Addy's, though the point of the story was similar. In my version (which came from Cambridgeshire) the dumplings were what are technically known as "light dumplings," and ought to have floated in the pot; but being ill-made they sank to the bottom. Accordingly, the boy's exclamation to his mother was: "Ah! With all your winking and blinking the sheep's head has eaten all the light dumplings out of the pot!"

Under the title of "Traditional Remains" Mr. Addy has gathered a large number of customs, superstitions, sagas, proverbs, songs and drolls, comprising every subject on which the peasant mind is exercised, from theories of the universe downwards. This is by no means the least interesting part of the book. It contains many items I do not remember to have seen before; and they will repay careful study. Why is it necessary to put into his coffin all the teeth a dead man has shed in his lifetime? Several wells are recorded as haunted; and in this connection the curious tale of the ghost-fish at Bradwell is worth noting. Mr. Addy would have increased the value of his book if he had defined a little more closely the localities of many of the customs and superstitions here mentioned. And why has he not given the names and some particulars of the tellers of the stories, after the excellent example first set, I think, by Campbell, and followed by the best continental collectors like Pitrè and Sébillot?

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

HISTORISCHE STUDIEN AUS DEM PHARMAKOLOGISCHEN
INSTITUTE DER KAISERLICHEN UNIVERSITÄT DORPAT.
Herausgegeben von Dr. RUDOLF KOBERT, Professor
der Geschichte der Medecin und der Pharmakologie.
IV. Halle a.S., Tausch & Grosse, 1894.

SOME six or seven years ago Professor Dr. Kobert determined to collect, through his pupils at Dorpat, the opinions of some of the populations of the Russian Empire on medicine, and to publish them. He was aware that, though much of the information he was likely to obtain would be of little interest from the point of view of scientific medicine, yet it might prove to be material not altogether unworthy of the attention of the historian of culture and the anthropologist. If the present (the fourth) volume alone had been the result, it would have borne ample witness to Dr. Kobert's sagacity. It consists of two works: the first, entitled *Further Studies in the Folk-remedies of various existing Nationalities in Russia*, by A. A. von Henrici; the other, *Materials for Lettish Folk-medicine*, collected, classified, and translated into German by J. Alksnis.

The former of these collections catalogues the different vegetable, animal and mineral substances used in folk-leechcraft in the Russian Empire, and describes the methods of application. It is preceded by a list of the works made use of, so far as it is founded on the writings of previous authors, and by a general introduction. The writer inquires, among other things, whence the folk-medicine of the Russian populations has been derived, and enumerates four different sources. The first of these is classical antiquity and the early Middle Age; and the medium of communication is declared to be the mission-

aries of Christianity. Another portion of Russian popular medicine has been brought by Gipsies from India, spread by soldiers, and gradually domesticated everywhere in the empire. A third, but a very small part, is borrowed from the scientific medicine of western Europe. The fourth is indigenous.

To follow the illustrations given of the remedies derived from these several sources would occupy too great a space. A careful examination of the materials brought together in the body of the work would, however, probably justify the author in his classification. It would certainly reveal many correspondences with the leechcraft of the West, and throw light upon the history of medicine. We are again and again reminded, for example, of the extraordinary part played by the doctrine of Signatures. Probably it is to this that is due the use of bear's grease, in Russia as elsewhere, against baldness. Another and similar mode of treatment for the same complaint is, we are assured, to shave the head, rub it with ground and moistened mustard, and then lay on it a plaster made of the ashes of the skin and bristles of a hedgehog: a most attractive remedy—for those who desire to make the experiment.

The collection on Lettish folk-medicine begins with an historical sketch. An interesting dissertation follows on the relations of the traditional treatment to the ancient mythology. Witchcraft and the evidence of folk-songs are here touched upon. Further observations on witchcraft are also to be found in the general view of the present condition of Lettish folk-medicine which follows. The "ills that flesh is heir to," as conceived by the folk, are then taken in order, and their remedies delineated; nor are the diseases of cattle and domestic animals forgotten. Some 347 verbal charms, with directions for use, conclude the work. Among them I have searched in vain for any of the narrative charms common enough in other parts of Europe, where a form of words is supposed to be dictated

by Our Lord. Narrative charms there are, like this against erysipelas: "Jesus went over a ploughed field, and carried roses in his hands. The first disappeared, the second was burnt up, the third went away, the fourth shall stick to no man's brain, leg, hand, foot, head, breast, or other members. So must all roses pass away and not return, the white, the red, the black, the blue, the green, the yellow, the water-rose, the snake-rose, the bone-rose, the leaf-rose, and whatever they may all be called. In the name, etc." As often as not, however, they are frankly heathen. Here is one against insanity: "Piktulis [the god of the underworld, of death and of decay] from the seashore, bristling like a cat, finds not the lofty rim of the kettle, and has entered the man; raging round, he torments him; he feels Pehrcons close on his track. Run out, little Lapp! I say it to thee once, once again, hearken, I tell thee! If thou wilt not follow yet, I will call Pehrcons, then, wit thou well, there will be fire in thy neck, so that thou wilt sink nine fathoms into the earth!" One point of interest in this charm which cannot fail to strike the reader is the description of Piktulis as a Lapp: an instance of the mythic influence of conquered or alien races which is most suggestive.

But, indeed, both the works included in this volume are of great importance to the student of folk-lore. Complete they are not, unless the Russian populations are greatly superior in civilization and refinement to their Slavonic and Magyar neighbours. Still, they comprise a large body of tradition, much of which has not been collected before; and they codify and render easy of reference to Westerns not a little of what, though collected, would have been unknown to us without their help.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

TALES OF THE PUNJAB TOLD BY THE PEOPLE. By FLORA ANNIE STEEL. With illustrations by J. Lockwood Kipling, C.I.E., and notes by R. C. Temple. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.

IT is ingenious rather than ingenuous on the part of Mrs. Steel and her present publishers to issue this as if it were a new work. When it was originally published under the title of *Wide-awake Stories* it was reviewed in these pages; and we only mention it now to warn our readers that it is the same book with an altered preface and without the index. Some explanation is surely due from the authoress and her publishers.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

The Council have prepared a Catalogue of the Library, but have deferred its publication until the issue of the June number of *Folk-Lore*, in order to give an opportunity to those members whose works on Folklore are not yet in the Library to favour the Society with a copy of them to be included in the Catalogue.

The Council will be greatly obliged by such donations, and also by offers of other books relating to Folklore.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SUPERSTITIONS IN THE CANONS.

(Vol. v. pp. 275, 333.)

THE superstitions mentioned on p. 275 seem to be derived not, as I ignorantly stated, from the *Canon of Matthew*, but from Matthew Vlastari's *Syntagma Canonon*, a book inaccessible to me. Most of them, not all, are condemned in the sixty-first canon of the council "in Trullo" (A.D. 680-1), including the leading about of performing bears. Balsamon's comment on this canon gives us the key to this, at first sight, incomprehensible prohibition. He tells us that the bear-leaders attach coloured ribbons or beads (*βάμματα*) to the heads and bodies of their bears, that they cut hairs from the bears and sell them together with the ribbons as phylacteries, and as potent to cure sickness and protect against the evil eye.

I to-day interviewed a bear-leader here, and he told me that the bear's hairs were very good for the evil eye, but that the parings of his claws were better still. An old woman tells me also that the bear's hairs are good for the evil eye and fevers; she knew nothing about the superior potency of the claws, but no doubt the owner of the bear is the proper judge. As regards the *βάμματα* they seem to have been abandoned. The hairs and parings of claws are burnt on live coals and the patient is smoked.

The use of bears' hairs as amulets must have been very prevalent in the seventh century at Constantinople, since the General Council of the Church was obliged to prohibit *for this reason* the innocent pastime of dancing bears. It was an age in which the noses of unsuccessful pretenders were habitually cut off, and no considerations of humanity can have immediately influenced the bishops. But the dancing bears were the last survival of the brutal shows of the amphitheatre, and these had been prohibited

TALES OF THE PUNJAB TOLD BY THE PEOPLE. By FLORA ANNIE STEEL. With illustrations by J. Lockwood Kipling, C.I.E., and notes by R. C. Temple. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.

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A ROSS-SHIRE BETROTHAL CUSTOM.

In the neighbourhood of Ellapool, in Ross-shire, I heard of the following custom connected with the ceremony of betrothal. The betrothal takes place some weeks before the time fixed for the marriage. The relations and friends assemble at the house of the bride's father ; and last of all the bridegroom arrives in the character of a would-be purchaser of a cow or a sheep. He is assured that he has come to the right place to have his want supplied ; and one by one the sisters and young friends of the bride are presented to him, he making a point of finding some fault with every one, until at length the bride herself appears, when he declares himself entirely satisfied and anxious to conclude the bargain. Whiskey is then brought in, and two glasses of it are poured out for the couple, the woman only raising the glass to her lips, while the man empties them both. A man not a native of the place gave me lately rather a different version of this custom, in which the bridegroom, instead of coming to buy, comes to seek a lost lamb.

CONSTANCE TAYLER.

SAINT JOHN'S EVE IN THE GREEK ISLANDS.

(Vol. v. page 330.)

About the Lesbian rhyme I know nothing as yet ; but κάφαλα is a misprint for κάψαλα, and there can be no pun. At Calymnos they dance round the fire singing (I have the words of the song), with stones on their heads, and then jump over it. They throw the stones in the fire when it is getting low. When it is nearly out they make crosses on their legs, and then go *at once* and bathe in the sea. This is my wife's account. I have never witnessed it there. What do the stones mean ? "The hare's fire," I should fancy, means "the fire that will bring fertility." The hare had, in antiquity at least, the privilege of conceiving when pregnant, and was regarded as an emblem of fertility (I have no books and cannot give references). The Midsummer fire is regarded as giving abundance for the year to come, just as it is regarded as cleansing from vermin for the year to come. It is (whatever its original significance may be) regarded as cathartic and fertilizing. That the two notions may be mixed up is shown by a way they have in Calymnos of throwing the first bunch of grapes into a house and saying "In grapes, out fleas."

W. R. PATON.

FOLK-LORE ITEMS.

North Indian Notes and Queries, vol. iv.

POPULAR RELIGION.

1. *Kulu*.—Curious rope ceremony, third day of new moon. Now dying out. Formerly huge grass ropes were made, and horsemen leaped the ropes, which were the while shaken, so that death sometimes befel. A legend is told in one village how the rope once *turned into a snake*, and went across the river to the village of Nāgar (the name is doubtless derived from *nīga*, “a snake”). Then it became usual for four men from Nāgar and another village to race with it to a cliff; the loser paid a fine. Now all that is done is for the two parties to run three times towards the cliff and back with the rope, then break it in two, each keeping half. A *ram's horns are placed on the head* of a currier of a certain family in Nāgar, who is called the chief of his caste; he is chosen yearly. When the horns are placed on his head, the village headman says a verse, asking aid for the *fruits of the earth*; then “*places a rupee in his mouth*, as is done to a dead man.” Then follows a feast, with all licence of *abusive speech*, at which no offence is taken. A legend is told of the ram whose horns are used. On a time, when Nāgar was attacked, a ram fought for the village; when conquered, he was taken to the sacred stone, which had been brought to Nāgar by deities in the *form of bees*, and putting *a rupee in his mouth they killed him*. An indecent song is sung (text given, but not all translated). [It looks as though this man were originally killed. Is there any lore in England connected with skipping ropes? Part of the song is “Victory, mother-goddess Hirma, we begin to play thy game.”]

2. *Sarwar*.—Ceremony of thanksgiving held by mothers who have sons. They fast a day and a night, eating once only, but they eat *nothing that has been made by human art*. A myth explaining

the ceremony is told. It turns on the making of a pond, in which no water would come until sacrifice had been made of the first-born son of some one, who, however, came to life again. (Cf. § 28.)

§ 3. Hindu ceremony done *before inhabiting a newly-built house*.

Placenta offerings of food and rice to the sixty-four gods, the nine planets, the "deity who presides over inanimate objects." A figure of Ganesha drawn at the gate in *red lead*. The family ~~worshipper~~ plays an important part. He is "worshipped with water and rice," and lights an old lamp, which he waves five times over the worshipper's head, by which the deity to whom the site belongs renounces claim to the ground. He runs away and the bystanders *chase him with rice*.

§ 4. *Palamau*.—Each village has an official, the Baigā, generally belonging to one of the *aboriginal tribes*; he keeps away evil spirits, does sacrifice before harvest, is arbiter in land disputes, and the authority on all ancient customs. He has land rent free. The office is hereditary, or if the line fails he is chosen by universal vote. He has a knife and dagger as instruments of office, and these are kept as heirlooms of the village.

§ 5. How, at a certain festival, the *spirit of a deity is infused into an inanimate object* (in this case an earthen pot). The object is smeared with *red powder*, and charms recited; those who intend to worship are marked with the *remains of the same red powder* [decayed rite of blood-covenant, doubtless].

§ 6. Seven Deities of Small-pox. Ceremonial.—Taboo of certain things (as shaving, using oil) for *the friends* of the sick.

§ 7. *Pir Sultan Sarwar of Nigaha*.—Initiation of children into the society of his worshippers; done when the clansmen assemble at a marriage or a death. One of the same family cannot initiate. The parents of the boy put sweets before the religious guide, who *goes home to the Pir*, and distributes the rest *among the clansmen*, who also are feasted in the evening.

§ 8. Holi festival described.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

§ 9. *Nishnoi Sect*.—Initiation ceremony: shaving, sacred ~~water~~ drink. *Infant baptism* thirty days after birth. They bury ~~the dead~~ below the cattle stall, or in some place where cattle ~~cannot~~ go. They allow no blue in their clothing.

11. *Cannibalism in North-West Provinces*.—Faqirs eat human flesh. One was convicted in court, and sentenced therefore.

12. More about extensors *v.* flexors (iii. 249).—The writer says, the action of flexor muscles is more natural to the pithecid apes, and that extensors are essentially human. He appears to argue that the European races are therefore further from the ape.

14. *Bombay*: Temple Prostitution.

15. Argument that the Soma plant was *bhang* (a preparation of hemp).

46. "Remnant of Human Sacrifice."—It is an odd ceremony, in which a boy puts one foot in a vessel of milk and one on the ground, and his forehead is marked with red. The meaning is not obvious at all ; but a legend is told of a raja who got water in a tank by sacrificing his sons ; after which the sons came out all well again. (Cf. § 2, above.)

48. *Mirzapur*: Marriage.—Water sprinkled ; spear set up when the man brings home his bride (marriage by capture), red lead sprinkled on ground as offering to earth goddess [to console her for not having real blood?]. Five tribes erect *parrot* tokens made of wood ; others do not. In *Riwa* there is a mock fight, and the bride does obeisance to a cow. Bride puts her hand beneath, bridegroom above, a measure, which is then filled with rice.

49. *Palamau*: the Cheros.—Never marry among themselves.

96. Alleged sacrifice of girl near *Poona*, to cure a disease. A fowl, a sheep, and a girl had to be sacrificed. (Accusation not proven).

98. Showing how Hinduism is absorbing other Indian religions.

100. *Bombay*: Bhoi Caste—Death Ceremonies.—Chief mourner drops earth on the dead ; one keeps the corpse's mouth open while chief mourner goes thrice round it with a jar of water, a man going with him, and once at each turn piercing the jar with the "*ashmā* or life-stone," so that water runs into the corpse's mouth. The *ashmā* is kept ten days ; other things are done, e.g. food offered, part to the crows.

101. *Palamau*: Brijiya and Agariya Tribes.—No marriage ceremony : bride's father pays the go-between Rs. 4. They all get drunk.

102. *Shahabad*: Marriage.—Nuptial Temple, an open thatch, with raised platform beneath, on which are sexual symbols.

Central pole set up and *marked with vermillion*; groom *marks with vermillion* bride's forehead. Cloth held round the pair, and fried grain dropt on them from above.

FOLK-TALES.

16. *The Three Princes (Moradabad).*—Three princes take service with a Raja and watch his garden for witches, whose doings are gruesome. A fairy gives the *youngest* a magic flute and a handkerchief; when he played upon the flute she would come and serve him. It is taken away by her; his adventures in getting it back. One is, that he stole the fairies' clothes while they were bathing, and bartered them for it. Magic stick, that kills whom you will; magic cord, that binds a whole army; and wishing-bag. These are got one by one by the hero, who exchanges his flute for each, then gets it back by commanding the stick to kill the owner. [Compare Jātaka, No. 186, magic adze, drum, and bowl, got by exchanging a magic gem for each.] The dead revived by pouring nectar (*amrita*) upon them.

17. How a peasant outwitted a jackal (*Mirzapur*).

21. *Quest of the Magic Powder (Mirzapur).*—*Youngest son* of Raja fated to succeed his father. The mothers of the other sons *demand his heart*; he is taken away to be killed, but the men kill an animal instead. Son returns and takes service in his father's city. The king tells his sons that whoso can get him the magic powder shall be his heir. Off the six sons go, and the disguised prince with them. Gets over sea by aid of a porpoise, by promise of a golden nose-ring. Finds a girl in the forest swinging. Says she, "You must marry me." He agrees, on condition of having the magic powder and a golden nose-ring. These she gives him; he returns, is made his father's heir, and marries the girl.

22. A story turning on the interpretation of signs or riddling utterances; such as, "You cannot enter unless after killing thousands, pressing hundreds beneath your arm, and cutting off the heads of scores."

51. *The Raja and the Daughter of the Halwai (Faizabad).*—She will marry him if he can fill a well with gold: he fails, because two deities own the well; he kills them and marries her; she gives him a picture of herself to sell, as he has no money; with this a Banya man fell in love and trapt the Raja. That day a ship was in the harbour, which could not be got to move; he

sold the Raja *to be sacrificed* to appease the deity [cf. Iphigeneia]. It moved before he was sacrificed, and he was taken with them in case it stuck again. In the end he is cast into the sea and *swallowed by a fish*, but got back again to his wife.

52. (*Mirzapur*).—Prince shoots deer, chases it, and finds old man nursing it. Next day both are gone; but he finds a hut where is another old man and the image of a lovely girl. [I suppose properly the deer and the girl are one, but it is not so said.] He goes in search of the original, whom he wins after killing a monster and bringing her its head.

54. (*Mirzapur*). . . . Raja learns a spell by which he can transform himself into any animal. To show this to his Vizier, he gets into body of a jackal lying near [dead? see sequel]. Vizier at once hides away his own body and jumps into Raja's. The queen finds it out, gets Vizier to show his power by jumping into a *dead* snake, while the king (the jackal), who has been previously hidden, at once jumps back again into his own body.

56. A tale to illustrate the saying, "Your wife is your wife before you, but not behind your back; a sister is a sister only in prosperity; only a friend is true through thick and thin." In it the hero cures king's daughter, &c., as usual; a snake used to come out of her mouth at midnight.

60. The craft of mankind; how Yama Raja (King Death) twitted an elephant, and was himself duped by a man.

93. *Banda District*. In this tale some flour and curds, after a barter upon the road, turn into gold. "Three questions" put to one on pilgrimage to find Juggannath. Stupid story with rather Buddhistic moral.

104. *Tricks of Diljani the Pilferer (Mirzapur)*.—Youngest of four princes sets out to find a queen; saves a man's life (Diljani) who has a *magic skin* which conveys him where he will; D. steals magic box, containing a demon's daughter, which the prince rides off with; a snake, with a jewel in its head, comes out of a tank at night, and laying its jewel down, searches the place by light of it; D. gives prince the key of the box, and in it is found a beauty; when the snake comes out, as usual, and lays down his jewel, D. drops a pan over it, and then the night grew dark again; snake dies, water dries up all except one corner, in which D. saw a palace gate. They both go in, and the prince takes to wife both the box-beauty and the daughter of the snake.

105. A defective tale, containing: A *Jinn* who lives under the

sea, and puts up a beautiful hand to pull down ships ; a man cuts this off, then is led down to cure the owner by restoring it, and marries her, receiving the "princess's box ;" but it ends before the box is opened.

106. *Prince and Witch's Daughter* (*N.-W. Prov.*).—Prince marries the daughter, who changes him into a fly when her mother comes home (fee, fo, fum); by subterfuge gets promise of his life; he gets *magic stick*, which conveys him any whither; magic quilt that gives all wishes; goes home to his father and is happy ever after.

107. (*Jalaum District.*) Husband, to test his wife, disguises, and offers her the great Naulakha Hár, or precious necklace, for a kiss ; she yields. Then she plays a like trick on him.

108. Turns on the possession of some land by demons, who object to its being tilled, and even pay tribute to avoid disturbance.

MIXED.

31. *Coorg*.—Cobras live 1,000 years. At 500 the cobra begins to shrink, and in a century or so more becomes as bright as silver, and only 3 feet long. Then he turns gold-coloured, and shrinks to 1 foot ; when he is 5 or 6 inches only, he rises in the air, dies, sinks into the ground, and disappears. Such spots are called *natas*, and are walled in, for anyone treading thereupon will get an incurable skin disease and rot away.

34. *Garhwal*.—At death, it benefits the departed to have as many persons as possible shave their heads and beards in his honour.

65. *Gurgaon*. Charm against Cattle Disease.—Erect two posts at the entrance of the village, and stretch a rope of grass betwixt ; on the rope, wooden models of plough and a narrow table, an unbaked earthen pot-cover, an onion, an iron spike. All are marked with oil and *red lead*; a charm writ upon the pot-cover. Drive the cattle beneath it ; on the day, no fire is lit in the village until evening. (Compare § 111.)

69. *Gaya*.—In the ceremony for worshipping the sun, cords are fastened to a hook in a temple roof, to represent its rays.

70. *Gurgaon*.—When a child is born, an evil spirit is born (always?) at the same time. The mother must for forty days keep one breast tied up while she suckles the babe with the other ; then the spirit is starved. Else, the child is endowed with the evil eye.

71. Sympathetic Magic—Rain-making (*Mirzapur*).—Stream of water was kept pouring upon a local *lingam*.

76. Omens from kites (the bird).

79. *Firozpur*.—Founding a new village. Never done on an old site, the first settlers having taken all the blessing out of the spot. A pole is planted to the north of the chosen site ; if it takes root, a good omen. Always a fruit tree ; different in different parts.

81. Superstitions about the Ass.

85. Fever to be cured by bedding a goose with the sufferer.

119. Witch-finding with a tray of water.

124. Goddess of Cholera worshipt : sacred stone. History of the cult (a modern one in this instance).

128. *Chatarpur* : Baniyas.—When the bridegroom and relatives comes to bride's house, his maternal uncle is pelted with rotten flour and other unpleasant things, and is much knocked about by the women of the bride's party.

140. *Firozpur*.—Goats thrown into the Sutlej to appease it, and prevent its wearing away the banks.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1894.

P. 78. *How the Bhuiyā Boy became a Raja*.—Orphan living in the jungle fed by fairy ; tears off a piece of the fairy's cloth, whereat she comes no more ; barber who comes to shave his head sees the cloth, asks whence it came ; "from my maternal uncle" ; reports to Raja, who gives him money to go in search of a bale of such cloth ; finds a Raja whose daughter is sick ; he is compelled on pain of death to marry her ; rides away immediately after ; arrives at a bramble-forest guarded by seven gates, one within the other, guarded by a demon, a tiger, a leopard, a bear, demons, witches ; pacifies the demon by calling him "maternal uncle," and by his aid passes the rest to the palace of the Great Queen, who sleeps twelve years and wakes twelve years ; makes a mark on her breast cloth ; she awakes, searches for the lad, who has to marry her because he marked her robe ; he leaves her to visit his first bride, who tells him he must not accept a gift from her father save basket for cowdung, on which all his luck depends ; returns home, and is asked for the cloth ; the Great Queen (who

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Mélusine, vii, 6. *E. de Schoultz-Adaïevsky*, Airs de danse du Morbihan (suite). L'Arc-en-Ciel. *F. Cadic* and *E. Ernault*, Chansons populaires de la Basse-Bretagne. *H. Gaidoz*, La Voie Lactée. *H. Gaidoz*, La Fraternisation. *H. Gaidoz*, L'Etymologie populaire et le Folk-Lore. *Paul Boyer*, Sorciers et Sorcières Tchouktches. *J. Tuchmann*, La Fascination (suite). L'Enfant qui parle avant d'être né.

Revue des Traditions Populaires, ix, 10. *Stanislas Prato*, La scène de l'Avocat et du berger dans la farce de Pathelin. *H. Marlot*, Les Mendicants (suite). *Louis Morin*, La Mort du mari (suite). *René Basset*, Les Météores (suite). *Albert Patry*, Traditions et superstitions du Bocage normand et du Cinglais. *B. Vignon* and *P. Sébillot*, L'enfance du pêcheur (suite). *P. Sébillot*, Ustensiles et bibelots populaires (suite). *Walter Gregor*, *A. Harou*, and *H. de la Ville-marqué*, Les rites de la construction (suite). *L. Morin* and others, Coutumes de mariages (suite). *P. Sébillot* and others, Les Métiers et les Professions (suite). *René Basset*, Contes

de l'Extrême-Orient (suite). *Roger Graffin*, Les fées de Montretemp. *Auricoste de Lasarque*, Traditions et superstitions de la Creuse. *Paul Sébillot*, Les Ecrivains français et les traditions populaires (suite).—ix, 11. *G. Dumoutier*, Folk-lore annamite (suite). *Louis Morin*, La femme obstinée (suite). *R. Basset* and *H. Heinecke*, Les Villes englouties (suite). *Fra Denni* and *A. Certeux*, Petites légendes chrétiennes (suite). *P. Sébillot*, Le Peuple et l'Histoire (suite). *A. Gorovei*, Légendes des oiseaux en Roumanie (suite). *L. Morin*, Traditions de l'imprimerie (suite). *A. Lumbruso* and others, La légende napoléonienne (suite). *W. Gregor*, Les Métiers et les Professions (suite). *P. Ristelhuber*, Les trois fileuses, ballade alsacienne. *P. Sébillot* and *A. de Cock*, Anciennes croyances (suite). *A. Patry*, Devinettes normandes (suite). *René Basset*, Contes de l'Extrême-Orient (suite). *F. Duynes* and *A. Certeux*, Les Pourquoi (suite). *R. M. Lacôte*, Proverbes poitevins. *F. Duynes*, Blason populaire de l'Ille et Vilaine (suite). *P. Sébillot*, Les Almanachs populaires (suite). *René Basset* and *P. Sébillot*, Les Mines et les Mineurs (suite). *René Basset*, Le fraternisation par le sang (suite).—ix, 12. *E. Jacottet*, Contes et traditions du Haut-Zambèze. *G. E. Godden* and *P. Sébillot*, L'Habillement des Statues. *Léo Desaivre*, Mœurs Epulaires. *T. Volkov* and *L. Morin*, Les Métiers et les Professions. *J. M. Carlo*, Maçons, cordonniers, menuisiers. *P. Sébillot*, Chanson des garçons charpentiers (Haute-Bretagne). *L. Morin*, Chanson de la petite lingère (Champagne). *L. Morin* and others, Superstitions des outils (suite). *Fra Denni* and *Paul Yves Sébillot*, Miettes de Folk-Lore parisien (suite). *R. Basset*, Les Empreintes merveilleuses (suite). *P. Sébillot*, Allusions à des Contes populaires (suite). *P. Masson*, Le Tsar dans les proverbes russes. *A. Certeux*, Traditions et superstitions de la Loire-Inférieure (suite). *R. Basset*, Les Ongles (suite). *Dr. P. Aubry*, Médecine superstitieuse (suite). *R. Basset*, Les Ordalies (suite). *L. Morin* and others, Le jeu de la chaise. *R. Basset*, Solaïman dans les légendes musulmanes (suite).—x, 1 (1895). *E. Lalayantz*, Légendes et Superstitions de l'Arménie. *Th. Volkov*, Contes ukrainiens sur le feu dans le silex et le tonnerre. *Fra Denni*, Théologie populaire. *A. Marguillier* and *A. Certeux*, La fête des Rois

(suite). *A. Certeux*, Les gâteaux et les bonbons traditionnels (suite). *A. Harou*, Les vêtements (suite). *R. Basset*, Les Ordalies (suite). *L. Morin*, Les Pourquoi (suite). *P. Sébillot* and others, Les Métiers et les Professions (suite). *F. Duynes*, Le coq et le renard (suite). *E. Jacottet*, Contes et traditions du Haut-Zambèze (suite). *R. M. Lacuve* and *G. Milin*, Proverbes poitevins.

Romania, No. 93 (January, 1895). Contains valuable reviews of *Bedier's Fabliaux*, by *Ch.-M. Des Granges*, and *Merlini's La satira contra il vilano*, by *G. Paris*.

Am Urquell, v. 12. *A. Treichel*, Steinerne Tabakkachel. *J. Mooney*, Songs of the Indian Ghost-Dance. *H. F. Feilberg*, Wie sich Volkmärchen verbreiten. *Dr. Albert Hermann Post*, Mitteilungen aus dem Bremischen Volkleben. *Dr. A. Haas*, Das Kind in Glaube und Brauch der Pommern. *Dr. Philipp Goldberger*, Die wilde Braut. *C. O. Boije*, Bienenzauber und Bienenzucht. *H. Carstens* and *Asmus*, Die Lösung des Zungenbändchens. *H. Hofmann* and *Asmus*, Das Ausbuttern. *Ralf Ofterding*, Zur Kyffhäuser Sage von Kaiser Friedrich. *L. Frankel*, Vom Bahrrecht. *H. Volksmann* and others, Der Mann im Monde. *Otto Heilig*, Volklied. *O. Glöde*, Sympathieformeln in Mecklenburg. *O. Schell* and others, Woher Kommen die Kinder? *A. Hermann*, Magyarische Hochzeitbräuche in Siebenbürgen. *Norbert Krause*, Hahn aus der Tonne werfen. *J. J. Broders* and *H. Volksmann*, Diebglauben. *H. A. Carstensen*, A-B-C-Spiel. *J. Charap*, Volktümliche Heilkunde der Juden.

Archivio, xiii, 4. *G. B. Corsi*, Usi natalizi senesi. *E. Regalia*, Divinazioni e sortilegi delle tribù di Nyassa nell' Africa Orientale. *F. Pulci*, Antiche Leggende devote di Sicilia. *F. Seves*, Proverbi piemontesi. Il giuoco turco della Giridi a Smirne nel secolo xviii. *G. Ferraro*, Feste sarde sacre e profane. *A. Th. Pires*, Formulas portuguezas na provincia do Alemtejo. *Dr. Vittorio Beltei*, 6 Novelle soprannumerarie alla Vetālapancavīcīti. *C. G. Sarti*, Saggio di una Nuova Raccolta di favole in dialetto bolognese. *P. Sébillot*, Contes de prêtres et de moines recueillis en Haute-Bretagne (suite). *C. Cimegotto*, San Marino e S. Leone. *St. Prato*, Le dodici parole della Verità (cont.). *G. Pitrè*, La leggenda del cieco ingannato. *Can. F. P. Mondello*, Le pitture popolari nei carretti di Trapani.

Rivista delle Tradizioni Popolari Italiane, ii, 1. *Pisko*, Folk-Lore Albanese. *P. Mazzuchi*, Tradizioni popolari dell' Alto Polesine. *F. De Rosa*, Tradizioni popolari di Terranova Pausania. *Grazia Deledda*, Tradizioni popolari di Nuoro (cont.). *Costanza Bassignano* and others, Leggende e Fiabe delle Provincia di Cuneo (cont.). *C. Cimegotto*, Il miracolo di San Giorgio a Campobasso. *V. Giovannetti*, Il miracolo delle Sante Faustina e Liberata. La Chiesa della Pieve. *F. Pellegrini*, La Leggenda di Marcofo. *P. Vincenzi*, Gli impiccati. *T. Nencini*, Il pastore dai tre cani. *V. Saccà*, Due novelline messinesi per bambini. *Baccocco Mavena*, Marion. Filastrocche liguri recitate dai bambini. *F. Neri*, La ninnaredda di Natale in Sicilia. *G. Calvia*, Il nodo di Salomone in Sardegna. *P. Spezi*, Ancora del lupo-manaro. *C. Jezzi*, Credenze e superstizioni di Casalincontrada. *A. Piroddi*, Canto del cuculo. *P. Gervasi*, Usi e costumi del Friuli. *A. Frontero*, Costumanze intorno ai fidanzati nella Lombardia. *F. Seves*, Proverbi piemontesi. *Carolina Coronedi-Berti*, Raccolta di Giuochi usati nel Bolognese, esposti per gradazione di età.—ii, 2. (1895). *A. Argondizza*, Folk-Lore Albanese. *L. D'Amato*, Tradizioni popolari di Campochiaro Molise (cont.). *Grazia Deledda*, Tradizioni popolari di Nuoro (cont.). *P. Mazzuchi*, Tradizioni popolari dell' Alto Polesine (cont.). *F. De Rosa*, Tradizioni popolari di Terranova Pausania (cont.). *A. Useri*, Ravani; Origine preistorica di Alghero; La regina-fata di Montistiri. *L. Cesarin Sforza*, Due antiche leggende trentine intorno alle monache di San Michele. *F. Corona*, Giovanni senza paura. *G. Rometta Garofalo*, Saggio di canti popolari siciliani. *T. Nencini*, Lo Verbo. *G. Sommi-Picenardi*, L'Epifania nel Cremonese. *T. Nencini*, La pede nei contadini. *V. Castrogiovanni Martinez*, Gli spiriti. *G. Perotti*, Credenze varie del Popolo Piacentino. *J. A. Trombatore*, Le Pietre di San Pasquale. *A. Frontero*, Santa Lucia ed il Natale. *G. C. S.*, I tre Re Magi a Sorso. *P. Tedeschi*, I fuochi per l'Epifania ecc. nel Friuli e nell' Istria. *V. De Lisio*, La Santa Croce. *P. Gervasi*, Modo di fidanzarsi nel Friuli. *A. Piroddi*, Usi e credenze ad Aggius. *F. Br.*, Folk-Lore di Martignano. *G. Calvia-Secchi*, Sul pane e sui dolci tradizionali sardi.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
COUNCIL,

16TH JANUARY, 1895.

THE past year has not been marked by any striking occurrences, but the Council feel satisfied that the progress of the Society if slow has been sure.

The work of publishing the printed Folk-Lore of the different counties is being steadily pushed forward. The Leicestershire and Rutland Collection, which was completed about a year since by Mr. Billson, is now in the press and will be issued to members during the current year as a further instalment of the volume belonging to the year. The Northumberland Collection and the Orkney and Shetland Collection are also completed and will be printed in due course. No fresh editors have offered their services since the issue of the last report; but as it will take some time to publish the matter now in hand, the Council feel no anxiety on this score. They will, however, be pleased to receive any offers of help from time to time, so that the county collections may be made as complete as possible.

The Council have resumed consideration of the very important question of publishing an English Bibliography of Folk-Lore on the lines originally begun by Mr. Gomme in 1880 in the *Folk-Lore Journal*; and they appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Jacobs, Nutt, Naaké, Duncan, Kirby, the President, and the Treasurer, to submit measures for carrying out this purpose. The Committee appointed the President of the Society its chairman and has met on several occasions. The Council are glad to state that the American Folk-Lore Society have expressed their interest

in the proposal and have offered to help. The Committee has formulated a scheme for carrying on the work, and it is in active operation. With the view of making the Bibliography as complete as possible the Committee will heartily welcome assistance from any members of the Society able and willing to devote some of their spare time and energies to the work.

The Council have not lost sight of the question of securing a permanent habitation for the Society in London; but the drain on their resources during the past year has been so great, that there is no probability of their being able to take any decided step in this direction just at present. In fact, to justify the additional outlay which would be necessary to maintain a permanent habitation, they consider that a large increase in the roll of members is absolutely necessary; and on this account they once more venture to urge all who have the welfare of the Society at heart to join its ranks, and retain their membership whether or not they are able to attend the evening meetings, or render any active assistance in forwarding the work of the Society.

The question of an exhibition of Folk-Lore objects was taken in hand during the year, and an appeal was made for gifts or loans of Folk-Lore objects of interest to be exhibited in one or other of the cases which it is arranged shall be placed in the Guildhall Museum and the Archaeological Museum at Cambridge. The appeal did not meet with a very hearty response, only four or five members having replied to the circular. Of these Mr. F. Fawcett and Mr. H. Raynbird junior have offered a large number of valuable objects, and the Council now have it under consideration which among these are suitable for exhibition. Any members who have not responded to the circular should at once communicate with the Secretary if they have any object of interest to offer for exhibition either as gifts or loans, as the Council are anxious that the cases should be "in  during the year.

The library at the Secretary's rooms in Lincoln's Inn is steadily increasing. All books and pamphlets added to it from time to time will be duly chronicled in the transactions of the Society; and the Council propose in future to issue a catalogue with the Annual Report, brought up to date, so that every member may know what the library contains, and may have an opportunity of borrowing or referring to any book in case of need.

The Council regret extremely that they were unable after all to make arrangements for the Provincial Meeting which they had hoped might have been held at Cambridge last July. Circulars were sent to all the members of the Society; but only 36 intimated to the Secretary their intention of being present at the Meeting, and under these circumstances the Council felt that they had no alternative but to abandon their projected arrangements.

The Delegates sent by the Society to the Ethnographical Survey Committee of the British Association report that the names of 367 villages or places have been returned to that Committee as suitable for survey. Forms of Schedule have been prepared by the Committee for the use of observers, and Sub-Committees have been formed in various places. The Council regard this movement with especial interest, as being the first occasion on which this Society, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Anthropological Institute, the Royal Statistical Society, the Royal Irish Academy, the Cambrian Archaeological Society, and other learned bodies, have been able, through the good offices of the British Association, to co-operate in forming a Joint Committee for a common object, which was initiated by this Society.

The Journal of the Society has during the past year been conducted upon the lines foreshadowed in the last Annual Report. Its conduct, together with that of the other publications of the Society, was referred to a Committee consisting of Messrs. Nutt, Kirby, Jacobs, Miss Cox, the President, and the Treasurer. Mr. Nutt very kindly

undertook the office of chairman for a year; but the Council have to announce with great regret that Mr. Nutt cannot continue his invaluable services, and they desire to take this opportunity of placing upon record their sense of the obligation the Society is under to him for all the care and attention he has gratuitously bestowed on the practical work connected with the editing of Folk-Lore.

Evening Meetings have been held on the following dates : January 17th, February 21st, March 21st, April 18th, May 23rd, June 20th, November 21st, and December 19th.

The papers read at these meetings were :—

- Feb. 21.* St. Nicholas and Artemis. By Professor E. Anichkov.
Gipsy Fairy Tales from Roumania. By Dr. Gaster.
Note on an East Anglian Harvest Custom. By W. B. Gerish.
On the Dutch Romance of Walewein. By Professor W. P. Ker.
- March 21.* Polish and Serbian Demonology. By J. T. Naaké.
The Problem of Diffusion. By J. Jacobs.
- April 18.* The Western Folk of Ireland and their Lore. By Prof. A. C. Haddon, F.L.S.
More Folk-Lore Gleanings from Co. Leitrim. By Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A.
Note on a Yarmouth Good Friday Custom. By W. B. Gerish.
Note on a Guy Fawkes Custom. By J. L. Audié.
Note on a Superstition connected with the Teeth. By Miss R. Venning.
- May 23.* The Omens of the Thugs and their relation to European Folk-Lore of Birds and Beasts. By F. Sessions.
Classification of the Proverbs and Sayings of the Isle of Man. By G. W. Wood, F.I.C.
Water and Well Worship in Isle of Man. By A. W. Moore.
- June 20.* Note on "Tommy on the Tub's Grave." By R. Weir Schultz.
Note on an Indian Custom. By H. Babington Smith.
Ghostly Lights. By M. J. Walhouse.
- Nov. 21.* The Old Norwegian Speculum Regale. By Prof. Kuno Meyer.
Note on Beltane Cakes. By the Rev. W. Gregor.
On the Rollright Stones and their Folk-Lore. By A. J. Evans.
An Oxfordshire Roland. By A. J. Evans.
- Dec. 19.* Note on "Charming the Orchards and Burning the Ashen faggot." By Mrs. E. F. Andrews.
Note on a Ross-shire Custom. By Miss Constance Tayler.
Note on a Cure for Rupture. By L. T. Lingwood.
The Fancy. By J. O'Neill.
Suffolk Leechcraft. By Dr. Wollaston Groome.
Folk Tales of the Uraons. By H. Raybird, junr.

During the year the Society has lost 7 members by death and 27 by withdrawal. Fifty-two new members have been elected, so that there has been a substantial increase in the number on the books of the Society. The total of the roll is now 396.

Messrs. Nutt, having offered their share of the surplus stock of *Folk-Lore*, Vols. I-IV. inclusive, on exceptionally favourable terms, the Council thought it right to close with the offer. And they are pleased to be able to announce that the whole of the stock has been paid for and is now the property of the Society. This transaction has necessarily caused a severe drain upon the resources of the Society, but the Council feel assured that their action will be heartily endorsed by the Society. Simultaneously with this purchase, it was resolved that the publications for the years 1878 to 1882 inclusive should be offered to members at the price of two guineas, and they are glad to be able to say that a considerable number of members have availed themselves of the offer.

The publications issued during the year have been *Folk-Lore*, Vol. V., issued to members as usual in quarterly parts, and *Saxo Grammaticus*, translated by Mr. Oliver Elton, with an introduction by Professor York Powell, which was issued as the second volume for 1893. The second volume for 1894 is Part II. of *The Denham Tracts*, which it is hoped will be ready for delivery to members by March next. The second volume for 1895 will be Parts I, II, and III of *County Folk-Lore*, the first two of which have been issued already, and the third of which will, as already stated, be issued in the course of the year.

The accounts of the Society, as audited, are presented herewith. The small balance to the credit of the Society is accounted for partly by the heavy outlay on *Cinderella*, and partly by the expenses incident to the purchase of the surplus stock of *Folk-Lore*, I-IV, as explained above. The money derived from the sale of the Congress *Transactions* has not yet wiped out the debt of £30

incurred by the Society through having financed the Congress, and the Council therefore again urge upon every member of the Society who has not already done so to purchase a copy.

G. LAURENCE GOMME, *President.*

F. A. MILNE, *Secretary,*
11, Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

At the Annual Meeting, on January 16th 1895, the following paragraph was, on the motion of Mr. E. W. Brabrook, seconded by Mr. A. Nutt, unanimously directed to be added to the Report :—

In conclusion, the Council desire to take this opportunity of placing on record their high appreciation of the invaluable services rendered to the Society by Mr. Gomme during the three years he has filled the Presidential chair, and to express a hope that they may for many years to come have the benefit of his experience and advice in carrying out the work of the Society in all its branches.

Annual Report of the Council.

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TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1894.

	RECEIPTS.	£ r. d.	PAYMENTS.
To Balance carried forward from 1893	... £9 9 0	120 9 5	By Printing Account (Publications) :—
Subscriptions, 1895 (9) ...	... 368 11 0		Mr. C. J. Clark (<i>Cinderella</i>), ba-
,, 1894 (35) ...	... 23 2 0		lance of account ... £67 18 8
,, 1893 (22) ...	... 12 19 0		,, (<i>Saxo Gramma-</i>
,, earlier years (12) ...	... 414 1 0		ticus), half-share ... 152 12 9
To sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt :—			Messrs. Austin & Sons, <i>County Folk-Lore</i> , Part ii. (Suffolk) ... 66 9 0
Fourth Quarter, 1893 ...	... 36 15 6		Messrs. Nutt, <i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. iv. 40 0 0
First Quarter, 1894 ...	... 56 6 2		Mr. C. J. Clark, <i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. v. 1 ... 41 5 6
Second & Third Quarters, 1894	... 59 14 10	152 16 6	Printing Account (General), Mr. C. J. Clark ... 34 8 9
" " per Secretary ...	... 2 4 6		Purchase from Messrs. Nutt of their share in
" International Folk-Lore Congress (1891) account :—	... 18 13 6		Stock of <i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vols. i.-iv. inclusive ... 100 0 0
Guarantees received ...	£9 14 6		Grant to Bibliography Committee ... 10 0 0
Donation (Mrs. Frida Mond) ...	3 19 0		Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c. (Messrs.
,, (C. G. Leland) ...	5 0 0		Nutt) (Oct. 1893—Oct. 1894) ... 56 13 11
			Annual Bibliography ... 10 0 0
			Binding Account (Simpson & Co.) ... 19 6 1
			Hire of Meeting Room (1893, 1894) ... 8 8 0
			Expenses at Evening Meetings ... 4 4 0
			Advertising (<i>Athenaeum</i>) ... 3 11 6
			Secretary's Salary ... 35 0 0
			Petty Cash, per Secretary (post-
			ages, &c.) ... 10 0 0
			Bank and other Discounts ... 1 2 9
			Balance in hand ... 47 4 0
			<u>£708 4 11</u>
			<u>£708 4 11</u>

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*
 G. L. APPERSON, *{ Auditors.*
 F. G. GREEN.

The Council and officers of the Society for the ensuing year nominated by the Council are as follows :—

President.

EDWARD CLODD.

Vice-Presidents.

THE HON. JOHN ABERCROMBY.
 ANDREW LANG, M.A.
 THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M.P., D.C.L.,
 LL.D., F.R.S.
 LT.-GEN. PITTRIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
 PROFESSOR J. RHYS, M.A., LL.D.
 THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M.A.
 EDWARD B. TYLOR, LL.D., F.R.S.
 MISS C. S. BURNE.
 G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

Council.

C. J. BILLSON, M.A.	E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A.
DR. KARL BLIND.	T. W. E. HIGGENS.
MISS M. ROALFE COX.	JOSEPH JACOBS, B.A.
LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.	W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S.
J. P. EMSLIE.	J. T. NAAKÉ.
ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., F.S.A.	ALFRED NUTT.
THE REV. DR. M. GASTER.	T. FAIRMAN ORDISH, F.S.A.
W. B. GERISH.	PROF. F. YORK POWELL, M.A., F.S.A.
MISS G. M. GODDEN.	HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.
J. G. FRAZER, M.A.	
PROF. A. C. HADDON, M.A., F.L.S.	

Hon. Treasurer.

E. W. BRABROOK, F.S.A., 178, BEDFORD HILL, BALHAM, S.W.

Auditors.

G. L. APPERSON.

F. G. GREEN.

Secretary.

F. A. MILNE, M.A., 11, OLD SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN, W.C.

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.]

JUNE, 1895.

[No II.

SUFFOLK LEECHCRAFT.

BY W. WOLLASTON GROOME, M.D.

(*Read at Meeting of December 20th, 1894.*)

I AM afraid that it will be found that I have not always kept quite closely to the title of my paper, but have introduced some extraneous matter. However, my excuse must be that it is all connected with disease, even though it is not in every case connected with its treatment.

As Forby observes in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, there is nothing romantic or poetical in our East Anglian superstitions; and he imputes this to the fact that there is but little in the natural features and formation of the country to create a belief in supernatural agencies. We live in a level, fertile, agricultural, thickly-populated district where intercourse is easy; and probably our superstitions take their hue from the surroundings, and are mainly homely and domestic. The country was strongly Puritan in its views; and we find, as was the case in Puritan America, that strongly marked religious fanaticism was combined with an implicit belief in the power of witches. To what extent this belief still persists it is difficult to ascertain, for we are reticent folk; but I have several times found that in the case of demented persons the

friends hinted that "somebody had done something to them." These remarks were always vague, and I never could get them to speak out, but from their hints I gathered that they believed the patient had been bewitched.

Some sixty years ago my father, then a curate in the small parish of Tannington, was gravely requested by some of his parishioners to try an old woman living in the parish, to see whether she were a witch and had bewitched someone. The ordeal was to consist in placing the church key on the church Bible, twirling it round, and seeing whether it pointed at the accused. However, he naturally declined to make the experiment, though the old woman herself wished it.

I knew an old man of over seventy partially demented who told me that someone had a spite against him, and that sometimes they tormented him at night and would not let him sleep, but that he had found a cure for that; if he got up, dressed himself, lit a fire, and then walked to a certain point in the road and turned round three times, and then retired to bed, he could go to sleep quietly.

In my father's parish of Monk Soham lived an old Mrs. Mullinger, a strange old woman. People said she had the Evil Eye, and if she took a dislike to anyone and looked evilly at their pigs then the pigs would fall ill and die. And in the same parish lived old Will Ruffles, a firm believer in witchcraft. My father once told him about a woman who had fits. "Ah!" said old Will. "She've fallen into bad hands." "What do you mean?" asked my father; and then Will said that years before in Monk Soham there was a woman took bad just like this one, and "there weren't but me and John Abbott in the place could get her right." "What did you do?" said my father. "We two, John and I, sot by a clear fire, and we had to bile some o' the clippens o' the old woman's nails and ~~some~~ of her hair, and when ta biled——" he paused. "What happened?" said my father. "Did you hear

anything?" "Hare anything! I should think we did. When ta biled we hard a loud shrike a roarin' up the chimbly, and yeou may depend upon it she wer'n't niver bad no more."

The following report, taken from the *East Anglian* newspaper in April, 1890, will illustrate to what extent this belief in witches still persists in some country places. "An inquest was held at Fressingfield on the child of a labourer, aged eleven weeks. The father and mother said that they believed the child's death was caused by witchcraft; that the child's step-grandmother, Mrs. Corbyn, who had died a short time before the child, had stated that it would not live long after her. The child had been taken out in its perambulator, and the father said that soon after he saw smoke coming from the perambulator. The child was taken out burnt, and the mother said that its body smelt of brimstone, and that the child died soon afterwards. The medical evidence showed that death resulted from some irritant applied to the child's body, and the jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical evidence, but did not find that there was sufficient evidence to show the nature of the irritant. The grandfather stated that he was of opinion that his wife had the power of a witch, and that in consequence he always tried to do what she wished."

There exist among us persons who are believed to have the power of curing burns and scalds by means of a charm; and undoubtedly they themselves have perfect faith and confidence in their own powers. They do it by uttering certain words known only to themselves, and if one impart the secret to another then he or she loses the power and the person told gains it; and hence they never tell it until they are very old or believe themselves to be dying. One old man at Monk Soham said that his mother had the power, and when she was dying was just going to tell the words to him, but some one coming into the room interrupted her, and

as she died very soon afterwards he never learnt the secret. In Glyde's *New Suffolk Garland*, p. 174, the Rev. Hugh Pigott, late of Hadleigh, says : "There was one old woman of very witch-like appearance who was supposed to have great skill in curing burns. She prepared a kind of ointment, and when a patient applied to her she placed some of it upon the part affected, then made the sign of the cross over it and muttered certain mysterious words which she would not disclose to any one." After many inquiries with the view of ascertaining what were the words employed on those occasions, the reverend gentleman heard from a man the following curious formula, the words of which must be repeated three times :

"There were two angels came from the North,
One brought fire, the other brought frost,
Come out fire, go in frost,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Mr. Charles S. Partridge, of Stowmarket, informs me that when a servant of his aunt's was severely burnt at Hadleigh in 1893, one old woman advised that a certain Mrs. Clarke should be sent for to bless the wound.

The following extract is taken from the *Suffolk Times and Mercury* for December 16th, 1892: "An inquiry was held on Tuesday at the Green Man Inn, Mindlesham, before Mr. Coroner Chaston, relative to the death of Maggie Alberta Wade, aged one year and nine months, the child of Henry Wade, agricultural labourer. The evidence of the mother showed that last Friday the deceased accidentally overturned upon herself a cup of boiling soup, sustaining scalds from which she died ten hours later. No medical man was called in, but Mrs. Brundish was sent for to charm the fire out of the deceased. She attended and repeated some words, and passed her hands over the injured places. In the opinion of the parents of the deceased good was done. Witness added that Mrs. Brundish's power was generally believed in in the village."

There are many persons, probably one in each village, who profess to be able to cure warts. The methods adopted are various. Sometimes the man or woman (for I have found curers of both sexes) will simply count the warts; and I have been gravely assured by a farmer that in his own case the warts did not all disappear, because the counting had been wrong. In other cases the operator anoints them with his spittle and directs the sufferer to moisten his finger and pass it round each wart three times in the morning fasting. Or a great old hodmadod (a snail) is taken, a needle or thorn run through the shell, and the warts smeared with the fluid that exudes. Afterwards the snail is fixed to a door or wall by means of the needle or thorn, and as it wastes the warts will disappear. Or "the patient may steal (it must be stolen or it will have no efficacy) a piece of beef and then bury it in the ground, and as the beef decays the warts will gradually die away" (Glyde's *Suffolk Garland*, p. 174). Or "take the froth of new beer, apply it to your warts when no one sees you (for secrecy is absolutely necessary), do not wipe it away, but let it work off by itself for three mornings, and your warts will disappear" (Glyde, p. 175). Or rub your warts with a green sloe or green bean, and then throw it over your shoulder, and, provided no one sees you do it, your warts will disappear. Or count your warts exactly, collect a corresponding number of pebbles, wrap them up neatly in a paper parcel, go along the road and throw the parcel over your left shoulder, taking care that no one sees you; then whoever picks up the parcel and opens it will develop the warts and you will be freed. In this last cure there seems to be a kind of notion that diseases can be cured by a scapegoat, and the following story illustrates much the same idea. One day I went to see a boy who was ill with inflammation of his lungs. After examining him I told his mother that I thought he was better than on the previous day. "Why, so he ought to be," said she, "he ha' nussed the cat." So I said I was very

glad to hear he had done so; but inquired what benefit he was likely to get from so doing. "What! h'aint yeou niver h'ard," said the mother, "that a cat's a wonnerful good thing when yeou hev anything wrong with yer lungs. I remember a sort o' years ago, when I lived the tother side o' Bury, my little Lizzie laa wonnerful bad with the whoopin' corf; she cou'nt fare to sleep nohow, but laa and dullered all night. The doctor he cum and he saa he cou'nt dew northin' more for her, but I'd hard saa a cat was a wonnerful good thing for that complaint. I hadn't got one o' my own, but sune as the doctor was gone I went and borrowed one from my ode neighbour next door, and do yeou know the child that laa and that snugged the cat all daa, and next daa when the doctor cum he saa, 'Why, there I think yer little one's a trifle better to-daa,' he saa, and arter that she nussed the cat ivry daa, and then she began kinder to pick up; but do yeou know that pore ode cat that cotched the complaint, and that himped about corfing hully stamming. There was a man come out o' the Sheeres come to my house one daa, and he hard that a corfing, and he saa to me, 'Missus,' sez he, 'that cat ha' got the whoopin' corf,' and so 't had, and that pore ode thing that went about corfin till that got waker and waker and at last 't died. My little Lizzie hully lost it and got kinder middlin. I fared wonnerful sorry for ode Mrs. Smith shou'd lose har cat, but that fared a sight better than I should lose my little gal."

The cures for whooping cough are numerous, but the favourite one is, I think, roast mouse. As a woman once told me, "Yeou must get some barn micen (rannies aint the liskest mite o' use) and fry 'em with some gravy. I had four children laa wonnerful bad with the whoopin' corf; they used gag at night till I hully thought they'd ha' been quackled, and Mrs. Scarfe saa to me, 'Why iver don't yeou giv' 'em some roast micen?' she saa; and so I did. I cooked 'em with some nice gravy and gor 'em to 'em for supper, and they ate 'em all up; and do yeou know arter

that they sune lost the complaint. I ha'nt to get out o' bed arter 'em not one single night arter that, and afore that I was allus a jumping up out o' bed to sit 'em up so they shou'n't be quacked t' dead with the corf."

Another favourite remedy is to send for something (a little milk or wine will do) from a woman who has not changed the first letter of her name at marriage, and to give it to the child. You may also give the child some milk at which ferrets have been lapping, or hold it over a tub containing ferrets, so that the child may inhale their scent. Or bury a piece of bread in the ground, dig it up after a few days, and make the child eat the mouldy bread. Or carry the child under a bramble bush, both ends of which are growing in the ground. Mr. Charles S. Partridge informs me that this remedy was tried for his aunt fifty-five years ago. It is also said that to pass the patient through a slit in the stem of a young ash-tree is a certain cure (*Glyde's Suffolk Garland*, p. 171). This latter remedy is, however, generally reserved for the cure of hernia.

I quote the following from the *East Anglian*, old series, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216, July, 1865. "To cure hernia in young children.—Split a young ash-tree, and pass the child (naked) through it at sunrise three times, each time with the head towards the rising sun; then tie up the tree tightly so that it may grow together. Two children of respectable farmers in the parish from which I write were some years since passed through a tree in this manner, and their parents have assured me with complete success." The writer of this is George Rayson, of Pulham, in Norfolk, but his valuable notes in folklore are "gathered from that part of Norfolk which borders on the Waveney."

Also the following account is given in the *East Anglian*, vol. ii. p. 250, September, 1865. "To cure hernia in young children.—A few years since I was visiting a

friend at Hundon, in Suffolk, and while walking with him in his orchard he showed me an ash-tree the bark of which had been divided and then grown together. This he told me was caused by its being split for him to be passed through when an infant. What effect his 'charm' had he did not mention. If living he would have been now about seventy-five years old." (Communicated by John B. Armstead, of Clare.)

I have not been able to learn of this custom being practised in Suffolk of late years; but the Rev. R. Abbay, rector of Earl Soham, states that "not many years ago in Essex, just across the Suffolk border, some people asked for permission to split a young tree, through which they wished to pass an infant afflicted with rupture." (This custom was formerly practised all over the country. *Vide Gentleman's Magazine* for 1804, vol. lxxiv. part i. p. 512, part ii. p. 909; White's *Selborne*, &c.)

I have never met with any cases of ague in the part of Suffolk in which I am living. I merely quote the following remedy because it is not included amongst those given by Lady Camilla Gurdon in her *Suffolk Folk-Lore*. It occurs in the *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. p. 130, July, 1867. "I beg to add the following cure for curing ague. When a fit is on, the sufferer is to take a short stick and cut in it as many notches as there have been fits including the present fit; then tie a stone to the stick, throw them privately into a pond, leave it without looking back, and the ague fits will cease. It is indispensable that the strictest secrecy be maintained. The alleged remedy has been communicated to me by two aged persons who place the most unbounded faith in its efficacy, asserting positively that not only has the practice of it been beneficial to themselves, but also to others who by their advice adopted it.

J. B. A., Clare."

To cure wens or fleshy excrescences.—Pass the hand of a dead man over the part affected on three successive days.

(*Suffolk Garland*, p. 175.) I had never heard of this remedy till six or seven years ago, when a woman consulted me about her breathing, and finding she had a goître I inquired how long it had been there. "Why," said she, "I ha' had that iver since I was tarned eighteen. Father he fared in a wonnerful waa about it, and he said he didn't mind what he paad, if so be anything 'ud dew it good. The ode doctor he tried a lot o' things, but that weren't the liskest mite o' use. And dew yeou know what did dew it good at last?" So I confessed my ignorance, and she went on. "Why, that was a dead man's hand." I thought it was the popular name for some herb, such as ladies' fingers, so asked her what she meant. "Why," she replied, "I mean what I saa, the touch of a dead man's hand. There was a young man died up our way, lived along o' the mill, and so that was all sattled. I was to goo up and laa his hand on my neck; but when that cum to the time I cou'nt fare to goo alone, so I took somebody along o' me. If I could ha' gone alone that 'ud ha' cured it hully, but as that was that wasted it wonnerful. Ah, yeou may larf, Mr. Groome, but 's true as yeou're alive that wasted hully surprising that 't did."

Some years ago I had about the same time several cases of anaemia (or bloodlessness), and I found in one parish that several of these patients were supposed by their friends to be suffering from a mysterious disease which they termed "the spleen." To cure this malady they had recourse to a "wise" woman who lived some miles away, and she treated them in the following manner. She took three drops of blood from their left arms and smeared it on their foreheads, allowing it to dry. I believe that she also pronounced some words during the operation, but the patients were very guarded in their answers to me and would not give me much information.

I know a small deformed woman who is said to work cures by means of charms, and who charges for so doing;

but she apparently has no great belief in her own powers, for when ill she frequently consults me.

The cure by sympathy is generally believed in. If a man cuts himself with a (bill) hook or scythe he always takes care to keep the weapon bright, and oils it to prevent the wound from festering. If a man runs a bush (*i.e.* a thorn) into his hand, after extracting it he oils or greases it. A man came to me with his hand inflamed, having run a thorn into it while hedging. I told him it was gathering, and he remarked, "That didn't ought to, for I greased the bush well arter I pulled it out." If a horse runs a nail into its foot the groom will (if a Suffolk man) invariably keep the nail, clean it, and grease it every day, to prevent the foot from festering. A somewhat similar belief in the effect that the weapon exerts on a wound came under my notice last year. The sister of one of my mother's servants had burnt her face with a flat-iron, and the wound healed but slowly. The servant remarked that "the face would never heal till the iron had been put out of the way; and even if it did heal it would be sure to break out again every time the iron was heated."

If you hang a flint with a hole through it at the head of your bed you will never be troubled with attacks of the "wild mare." A skein of scarlet silk is sometimes worn round the neck to check nose-bleeding. As a man once remarked to me, "A lot o' maggots I dessay, but there, my mother allus did it, so I kinder thought I'd try it."

As a preventive or a cure for rheumatism you should always carry a small bottle of quicksilver in your right and left pockets. Another infallible cure for it is to steal a potato and carry it in your pocket; but the potato is useless unless stolen.

You should always put on your left stocking and left glove first as a preventive of toothache.

Cramp is easily cured. You will never have it again if you put your shoes outside your bedroom door every night

"coming and going," *i.e.* with the toe of one pointing towards, and the other one away from, the room.

Divers herb and vegetable poultices are sometimes recommended; but the following one, which was told me by an old woman, is, I think, unique. "Yeou must get a lot o' slugs with white bellies and mash 'em up all together, and then laa 'em right on the skin, and that'll draw wonnerful." She assured me that she had tried the remedy for a "breeder" (a boil) on her own face. "I put the poultis' on over night, and come the morning the matter sued out hully surprising."

Death omens are common. I have merely selected a few which I have heard. May-blossom brought into a house presages death to one of the family before the year is out. Holly brought into the house at any time except Christmas also foretells a death; and so does an apple-tree bearing at the same time blossom and ripe fruit. A candle left burning in a room and forgotten is a sure sign of death. Primroses in a garden blossoming at Christmas foretell illness or some serious accident to one of the family. A bird fluttering against a window is sure to be soon followed by a death in the house, as also is a robin coming inside a room; and also if, in taking bread out the oven with the peel, you overturn one of the loaves, a death will soon follow.

Such are the cures and superstitions in connection with disease which I have been able to collect. I expect that many more might be added, but I have found it difficult to obtain information from other parts of Suffolk.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20th, 1895.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Clodd) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the December meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Miss A. G. Fulcher, Mr. Harnett Blanch, Mr. W. Gore Marshall, Sig. Ulrico Hoepli, Mr. G. F. Black, Mrs. Lilly Groves, Mr. F. Fawcett, and the Tate Library (University College, Liverpool).

The resignation of Dr. Douglas Hyde was also announced.

The following books and pamphlets, presented to the Society by their respective authors since the December meeting, were laid upon the table, viz.: *Ed. Dimirycht, etc.*; *Notes on the Bibliography of the 1001 Nights*; and *Evolution of Natural Theology*, all by W. F. Kirby; *Extracts from the Kalevala*; *King Bele and Yarl Angantyr*; *Wise Texts from the Ancients*; *Notes on Northern Words*; *The Northmen in Wales*; *Dinas Penmaen*; *Traditional Route of Romans across the Carnarvonshire Mountains*, all by Lady Paget; *The Knights of the Broom*, by R. Greeven; *The Decorative Art of British New Guinea*, by Professor Haddon; *Sakses Oldhistorie*, by Axel Olrik; *Latavian National Legends*, by H. Wissendorff; *Randglossen über offene Fragen, etc.*; *Mythologie &c. der Nigritier in Guinea*; *Vorgeschichtliche Schöpfungslieder*; *Die Samoanische Schöpfungs-Sage*, all by A. Bastian; also the following: *Studies in Folk-Song*, by A. M. Williams, presented by the President; *Kathákoça*, by C. H. Tawney, presented by Dr. Gaster; *Lullabies of Many Lands*, by A. Strettell, presented by Mrs. Andrews.

Mr. A. E. Crawley read a paper entitled "Taboos of

Commensality" (*infra*, p. 130); and a discussion followed, in which the President, Professor Haddon, and Messrs. Gomme, Nutt, and Kirby took part.

Mr. W. B. Gerish read two short notes on "A Norfolk Nursery Rhyme" and a "Churchyard Charm" (*infra*, pp. 200 and 202), upon which Dr. Gaster offered some remarks.

Mr. Gomme exhibited some photographs of the "Shrew Ash" in Richmond Park, which Miss M. C. Ffennell kindly presented to the Society.

The following objects from the Western Islands, sent by Dr. R. C. Maclagan of Edinburgh, were also exhibited : (1) A corp chrè; (2 & 3) A corn maiden and a corn Cailleach as made in Argyleshire; (4) A three-knot charm against the Evil Eye; (5) A sheep's shoulder blade as prepared for the purpose of divination; (6) A stocking dreamt on, as indicating the future; (7) Nails from Toothache Stone (Islay); (8) A cow fetter; (9) Merry-thoughts as used to find out the number of years before marriage; (10) A corn dream-charm; (11) A puzzle; and the Secretary read some explanatory notes (*infra*, p. 144) thereon communicated by the sender.

Professor Haddon kindly undertook to photograph the objects for the Society.

A transcript by the Hon. J. Abercromby of some notes, made about thirty years ago, by the Rev. Malcolm MacPhail upon the "Traditions, Customs, and Superstitions of the Lewis" (*infra*, p. 162), was also read.

TABOOS OF COMMENSALITY.

BY A. E. CRAWLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S.

THE following paper may be said to form one chapter in the natural history of Social Taboo, being intended to illustrate by a brief sketch of one particular set of customs a general hypothesis as to the meaning and origin of this great factor in early society. This general hypothesis is of course derived from a comparison of the customs and ideas which regulate every department of human intercourse, and can only be stated here without further explanation. But I may take this opportunity of explaining my position. It is not my intention to put forward this hypothesis as a general theory until I have been able to apply to it the test of an exact statistical method. This, however, is a question of time, and meanwhile I have decided to broach it for what it is worth in one or two of its applications. The present paper, therefore, must be understood as meant to serve merely as a first attempt to explain one set of the phenomena of Social Taboo by an hypothesis which awaits more exact verification.

It will be necessary to begin by stating the hypothesis in brief. The principle of Social Taboo is an idea, due to the concrete habit of the human mind in a low stage of culture, that the attributes assigned to the individual who is feared, loathed, or despised are materially transmissible by contact of any sort. It is, perhaps, connected in origin with a physiological aversion to contact with that which is unusual or harmful. This transmission of properties can be effected by any method of contagion or infection, and through any detached portion of the organism. In the particular connection of commensality the virus, if it may be so called, is transmitted to food by the touch and especially by the



It is not surprising that so many customs and beliefs have attached themselves to the functions of eating and drinking. Various rules attest the importance of this chief requisite of existence. Thus the Dyaks of Borneo consider it wrong to attack even an enemy whilst he is eating.¹ The Tahitians offered a prayer before they ate their food.² The Moïs of Cochin China invoke a superior power before eating and drinking.³ It is at least doubtful whether such instances of "grace before meat" have their origin in a feeling of thankfulness. More probably here, as in other customs, the idea is to neutralise any deleterious influence which the food may possess. In the custom and in the words, our "blessing on the meat" shows the opposite pole of the same idea. The Malayalam Sudras of Travancore bathe and put sacred ashes on the forehead before each meal.⁴ The Arabs of Syria mutter a *bismillah* before eating, and take their meals in silence.⁵ The custom of eating in silence is found amongst the Ahts,⁶ Maoris,⁷ Siamese,⁸ and the ancient Hindus.⁹ It is at least a testimony to the importance of daily bread. In Siam it is a maxim of the Buddhist priests that "to eat and talk at the same time is a sin."¹⁰

To clear the ground, we may illustrate, before approaching the main topic, the common practice of injuring a man by means of the refuse of his food. Amongst the aborigines of Queensland, any food left over from the meal is always

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xxiii. p. 160.

² Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 350.

³ *Cochinchine française*, vol. viii. p. 12.

⁴ Mateer, *Travancore*, p. 112.

⁵ Featherman, *Social History*, vol. v. pp. 448, 451.

⁶ Sproat, *Savage Life*, p. 61.

⁷ Thomson, *New Zealand*, p. 160.

⁸ Bowring, *Siam*, vol. i. p. 110.

⁹ Manu, vol. iii. pp. 236, 237.

¹⁰ Bowring, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 328.

burnt to prevent the possibility of sorcerers getting hold of it, and injuring them by means of the food.¹ The western tribes of Victoria "believe that if an enemy gets possession of anything that has belonged to them, even such things as bones of animals which they have eaten, broken weapons, feathers, portions of dress, pieces of skin, or refuse of any kind, he can employ it as a charm to produce illness in the person to whom they belonged. They are, therefore, very careful to burn up all rubbish or uncleanness before leaving a camping-place. Should anything belonging to an unfriendly tribe be found at any time it is given to the chief, who preserves it as a means of injuring the enemy. This *wuulon* is lent to any one of the tribe who wishes to vent his spite against any one belonging to the unfriendly tribe. When used as a charm, the *wuulon* is rubbed over with emu-fat mixed with red clay, and tied to the point of a spear-thrower, which is stuck upright in the ground before the camp-fire. The company sit round watching it, but at such a distance that their shadows cannot fall on it. They keep chanting imprecations on the enemy till the spear-thrower turns round and falls in his direction."²

"The whole community of the Narrinyeri is influenced by disease-makers." Their method is called *ngadhungi*, and is practised in the following manner. Every adult blackfellow is constantly on the look-out for bones of ducks, swans, or other birds, or fish, the flesh of which has been eaten by anybody. When a man has obtained a bone, he supposes that he possesses the power of life and death over the man, woman, or child who ate its flesh. Should circumstances arise calculated to excite the resentment of the disease-maker towards the person who ate the flesh of the animal from which the bone was taken, he immediately sticks the bone in the ground near the fire,

¹ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 298.

² Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 54.

firmly believing that it will produce disease in the person for whom it was designed, however distant he may be. Death also may result. All the natives, therefore, are careful to burn the bones of the animals which they eat, so as to prevent their enemies from getting hold of them. When a person is ill, he generally regards his sickness as the result of *ngadhungi*, and tries to discover who is the disease-maker. When he thinks that he has discovered him he puts down a *ngadhungi* to the fire, for the purpose of retaliating; that is, if he possesses one made of an animal from which his enemy has eaten. And if he has not, he tries to borrow one. Frequently, when a man has got the *ngadhungi* of another, he will go to him and say, "I have your *ngadhungi*; what will you give me for it?" Perhaps the other man will say that he has one belonging to the person who asks him, and in that case they will make an exchange, and each destroy the *ngadhungi*.¹ The constant seeking for revenge caused by this belief produces an atmosphere of suspicion among the natives. It is often the case that they will trust none but relatives; all others are regarded as possible enemies.² In the Encounter Bay tribe the same superstition is rampant. If a man has not been able to get a bone of an animal eaten by his foe, he takes an animal, and cooks and offers the meat in a friendly manner to his intended victim, having previously taken from it a piece of bone.³ In Tanna, the disease-makers injure a man by burning his *nahak*, that is the refuse of his food, or any article that has been in close contact with his body. When a person is taken ill, he believes that it is occasioned by some one who is burning his *nahak*; and if he dies, his friends ascribe it to the disease-maker as having burnt the refuse to the end. All

¹ *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 24, 25, 26.

² *Id.*, p. 136.

³ *Id.*, p. 196.

the Tannese carry small baskets about with them into which they put banana-skins, cocoanut-husk, or any refuse from that which they may have been eating, in order to avoid its discovery by an enemy, until reaching and crossing a stream of running water, which alone has the power of annulling such contingency. "It is surprising how these men are dreaded, and how the belief is that they have in their hands the power of life and death." The belief "has so strong a hold in Tanna that all the continual fights and feuds are attributable to it."¹ The practice of burning a man's food in order to injure him flourishes in New Britain; the islanders are therefore careful to hide or burn their leavings.² In the Banks' Islands, one man can injure another by charming some bit of food, hair, or nail-parings, anything in fact that has been in close connection with his body; they are consequently at pains to hide all such.³ In Pululaa (Solomon Islands), guests bring their own food to feasts, as they may not eat the food set out. The belief is that if a visitor should purposely or accidentally retain a morsel of food of his host, he can thereby exercise a mysterious influence over the giver of the feast. In such a contingency the host will redeem the lost fragment at as high a figure as he can afford.⁴ In the Solomon Islands, again, an enemy will throw scraps of his victim's food into a sacred pool, of which he knows the spirit or Tindalo. If the food is eaten by a fish or snake the man will die.⁵ Throughout Melanesia it is believed that one man may harm another by taking bits of his food into a sacred place,

¹ G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 89; B. T. Somerville, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xxiii. pp. 19, 20.

² Powell, *A Wild Country*, p. 171. The practice of using a man's food to injure him is found in Polynesia generally, Tahiti, the Washington Islands, Fiji, Queensland, and amongst the Zulus and Kaffirs.

³ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. x. p. 283.

⁴ Coote, *Wanderings South and East*, p. 177.

⁵ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. x. p. 309.

upon which the victim's lips will swell and his body break out with ulcers.¹ In the New Hebrides, when the mae snake carries away a fragment of food into the place sacred to a spirit, a man who has eaten of that food will sicken as the fragment decays.²

The above class of ideas is extraneous to the present argument, being concerned with that other aspect of Taboo, in which the danger to the individual is indirect and depends on sympathetic magic. These cases are adduced because the idea which they embody has possibly had some influence here and there upon commensality, though the evidence is very slender.

Proceeding to the main topic, we first meet with examples of precautions taken to ensure that food and drink are neither poisonous nor deleterious in themselves, nor rendered injurious by witchcraft or poison.

Bulgarians before drinking make the sign of the cross, to prevent the devil entering the body with the liquor.³ Similarly, devout Russians have been observed to blow on the glass in order to neutralise "the Satanic operation of spirituous liquors."⁴ Amongst the Eskimo, when a new spring of water is found, it is usual for the oldest man present, failing an *angekok*, to drink first, in order to rid the water of any evil influence it may possess.⁵ In Eastern Central Africa, when a chief has a beer-drinking, his priest or captain brings out the beer to the guests and tastes it to show that it is not poisoned.⁶ So amongst the Damaras, the chief must first taste the provisions before they are eaten by the rest of the assembly.⁷ Amongst the Krumen, at a

¹ Codrington, *Melanésians*, p. 188.

² Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

³ Sinclair and Brophy, *A Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 14.

⁴ Erman, *Siberia*, vol. i. p. 416.

⁵ Cranz, *History of Greenland*, vol. i. p. 193.

⁶ D. Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i. p. 191.

⁷ Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 224.

palm-wine-drinking, the goodwife of the house has to take the first and last draught herself, to show the guests that she has not been dealing in poison or witchcraft. This is called "taking off the fetish."¹ Amongst the Basutos, when food or drink are offered to a man, and he is not sure that it is not poisoned, he lets the host taste it first.² These customs are widely spread in Africa.³ In the Banks' Islands, on presenting food to a visitor the host first takes a bite himself to show that it is not charmed, or to take the risk upon himself.⁴ In New Guinea, it is a mark of friendship to offer water to a stranger. Before presenting it, the natives first drink themselves to prove that the water is not poisoned.⁵ Here we see the germ of a rule of courtesy.

These general precautions lead up easily to those cases where the specific contagion of human influences is the object of precaution. As is well known, uncivilised man regards strangers with feelings of hostility and suspicion. These feelings extend to food that they have touched or tasted. Thus the Papuans of Humboldt Bay would not touch any food which their European visitors had previously tasted, nor even drink the water offered to them. This aversion was due to superstitious ideas.⁶ The Yule Islanders refused to accept a share of anything which their visitors ate.⁷ The blackfellows of Victoria regard as wholesome any food that is not poisonous or connected with superstitious beliefs, but they will not touch any food which has been partaken of by a stranger.⁸ The Poggi

¹ J. L. Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 124.

² *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. vi. p. 34.

³ Bastian, *San Salvador*, p. 134.

⁴ R. H. Codrington, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. x. p. 284; *id., Melanesians*, p. 204.

⁵ Rosenberg, *Malay Archipel.*, p. 470.

⁶ Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

⁷ D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, vol. i. p. 261.

⁸ Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 18.

Islanders would not touch the food offered them by Europeans until it had first been tasted by one of the ship's company.¹ This instance is a link with the last set of customs. Hence the Atiu Islanders refused to eat with the missionaries,² and the Indians with the Prince of Wied.³ The conclusion may fairly be drawn that the principle underlying these customs is this, that the strange or dangerous character of strangers is transmissible to food they have touched.

We have now arrived at the prohibition against eating with certain persons. In Tanna no food is accepted if offered with the bare hands, "as such contact might give the food a potency for evil"⁴ In New Zealand, one can be "bewitched" by eating or drinking from the calabash of an ill-wisher, or by smoking his pipe. Personal misfortunes are attributed to such indiscretions. When a man is sick, he is invariably questioned by the doctor, for example, whose pipe he smoked last.⁵ In ancient India, a Brahmin might not eat the food of an enemy or an ungrateful man, or that offered by an angry, sick, or intoxicated person.⁶ In the Mulgrave Islands, those who are not initiate ought never to drink from the same cup with sorcerers.⁷ In Fiji, persons who suspect others of plotting against them avoid eating in their presence.⁸ No respectable Zulu would eat in the company of Amatongas, who are regarded as "evil-doers" (wizards).⁹ In New Zealand, no one dare eat the food of a "tapued person" (gentleman), "for this is equivalent to

¹ Crisp, *Asiatick Researches*, vol. vi. p. 81.

² W. W. Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific*, p. 42.

³ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vol. iii. p. 166.

⁴ Featherman, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁵ Polack, *New Zealand*, vol. i. pp. 280, 263.

⁶ *Laws of Manu* (Bühler), vol. iv. pp. 213, 214, 207.

⁷ D'Urville, vol. ii. p. 408.

⁸ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, vol. i. p. 249.

⁹ Shooter, *Kaffirs*, p. 115.

eating his sacredness.¹ On one occasion a slave ate his chief's dinner by mistake; when told of what he had done he was seized with convulsions and cramp in the stomach, and died at sundown.² Similarly, if any one ate the Mikado's food, his mouth and throat would swell up and death would ensue.³ Cadiack whalers are considered "unclean," and no one will eat out of the same dish with them, or even approach them, for that reason.⁴ In Fiji, the sick are credited with malignant properties; they are supposed to "pollute" objects which they touch, and food, by means of their saliva.⁵ Great care is always taken that no one touches the king's cupbearer.⁶ Fijians never put a vessel to the mouth when drinking; they consider it objectionable for several persons to drink out of the same vessel with their mouths to it.⁷ In Tahiti, all who were employed in embalming the dead were during the process carefully avoided by every one, as "the guilt of the crime for which the deceased had died was supposed in some degree to attach to such as touched the body. They did not feed themselves, lest the food, defiled by the touch of their polluted hands, should cause their own death, but were fed by others."⁸ In New Zealand, one who has touched a dead body may not use his hands to eat, but is either fed by others or picks up his food with his teeth from the ground or the food-basket. Those who feed such a person offer the food with outstretched arm, and are careful not to touch him.⁹ In Samoa, while a dead body is in the house,

¹ Shortland, *Maori Religion*, p. 26.

² *New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori, p. 114.

³ D'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. i. p. 386.

⁴ Lissiansky, *Voyage*, p. 174.

⁵ Featherman, p. 620.

⁶ Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vol. iii. p. 115.

⁷ *Id.* vol. iii. p. 349.

⁸ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. iv. p. 388. So in Fiji, Meinicke, *Stillen Meeres*, vol. iii. p. 40; Hawaii and Samoa, *id.*, vol. ii. pp. 300, 276.

⁹ Brown, *New Zealand*, p. 11.

no food may be eaten under the same roof; meals are taken outside or in another house. Those who attend upon the dead dare not handle their food, but are fed for some days by others. The penalty for breaking this rule is baldness and loss of teeth.¹ In Fiji any one who has touched a chief, living or dead, becomes "tabu"; he cannot handle food, but must be fed by others. Hence barbers are continually in this case.² In Tonga, when a man has touched a superior chief, or anything belonging to him, he may not feed himself with his own hands. Should he do so, he will infallibly swell up and die.³ To take examples of another sort of contagion. In Burma one is defiled by sitting or eating with the "impure" caste of Sandalas.⁴ The ancient Brahmin who ate the food of "outcasts" became thereby an "outcast" himself.⁵ In modern India, members of different castes will not eat food cooked in the same vessel; if a person of another caste touch a cooking vessel, it must be thrown away.⁶ The food of a Fijian chief may not be carried by boys who have not been tattooed, lest the meat be rendered "unclean"; boys being unclean until then.

The main inference may now be drawn. I have selected, as will have been noticed, examples of various character, from which we may conclude that any sort of harmful influence (even that of death or of social inferiority) is believed to be transmissible by the agency of food, and that in each case the determinant of the taboo is the contagion of the one or more particular properties for which the dangerous individual is primarily feared. Such is, as I conceive, the meaning of these taboos.

¹ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 145; *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 228.

² Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 254.

³ Mariner, *Tonga*, vol. i. p. 150; vol. ii. p. 80.

⁴ D'Urville, vol. i. p. 173.

Manu, vol. xi. pp. 176, 181; cf. Ward, *Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 149.

⁵ Ward, vol. ii. p. 317.

We next are met by what is an extension of the principle of contagion. The prohibition against eating and drinking before the eyes of others is an outcome of that universal appreciation of the power of the human gaze which has reached its most superstitious development in the belief in the Evil Eye. The idea is still that of contagion, for facts show that malignance and other properties can be conveyed by a look as certainly as by other methods of infection, and thus taint the food and drink of the individual who fears. The Oriental belief that food is rendered poisonous by the Evil Eye is a "luminous instance." In Abyssinia, the doors are carefully barred before meals to exclude the Evil Eye, and a fire is lighted, otherwise "devils" will enter, and, 'there will be no blessing on the meat.' The king always dines alone.¹ Amongst the Nubians no food is carried without being carefully covered, for fear of the Evil Eye.² The Zafimanelo of Madagascar lock the doors before every meal, and no one ever sees them eat.³ A carved and gilt wooden screen was always placed in front of Montezuma at his meals that no one might see him while eating.⁴ In Loango the king is sacred; from his birth he is forbidden to eat with anyone, and various foods are prohibited to him. He eats and drinks alone, in huts devoted to the purpose. The covered dishes containing his food are preceded by a crier, at whose proclamation all get out of the way and bolt their doors; for any person seeing the king eat is put to death. A privileged few may be present, but they are bound to conceal their faces, or the king places a robe over his head. All that leaves his table is at once buried.⁵ A crier proclaimed when the King of Caongo was about to eat

¹ Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, vol. iii. pp. 171, 172, 322.

² Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, vol. ii. p. 326.

³ *Antananarivo Annual*, vol. ii. p. 219

⁴ Bancroft, *Native Races*, vol. iii. p. 129.

⁵ Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, vol. i. pp. 220, 262, 263.

or drink, that the people might cover their faces or fall to the ground with down-turned eyes.¹ When the King of Canna was offered a glass of rum by Mr. Winwood Reade, he hid his face and the glass under a Turkish towel.² In Dahomey, it is death to see the king eat; if he drinks in public, a curtain is held up to conceal him.³ The King of Susa at meals is concealed by a curtain from his guests.⁴ The King of the Monbuttoo always takes his meals in private, and no one may see the contents of his dish.⁵ The King of Congo eats and drinks in secret. If a dog should enter the house while he is at table, it is killed. On one occasion the king's son having accidentally seen his father drinking was executed on the spot.⁶ A Pongo chief never drinks in the presence of others without a screen to conceal him; on the Pongo coast it is believed that one is more liable to witchcraft when eating, drinking, or sleeping.⁷ In Ashantee, a man of consequence never drinks before his inferiors without hiding his face from them. The belief is that an enemy can then "impose a spell on the faculties" of the man who is drinking.⁸

Some rules of etiquette enforced by mutual fear and consideration for others have been incidentally adduced. So in Tonga no one may see the king eat, therefore those present turn their backs upon him. Nor may one eat in his presence without averting the face. It is also forbidden to eat in the presence of a superior relation without turning the back.⁹ Amongst the Bakairi, every man eats by

¹ Bastian, *San Salvador*, p. 58.

² W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 184; cf. p. 543.

³ J. L. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Reade, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Burton, *Dahomey*, vol. i. p. 244.

⁴ Harris, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 78.

⁵ Schweinfurth, vol. ii. p. 98.

⁶ Reade, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁷ Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 310.

⁸ Bowdich, *Mission*, p. 438.

Mariner, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 235; Cook and King, *Voyage*, vol. i. p. 232.

himself; when one eats in the presence of another it is the custom to do so with head averted, while the other turns his back and does not speak till the meal is over. When the German explorer ate his first meal before them they hung their heads and were "ashamed."¹ Amongst the Karajà, etiquette requires that every one eat by himself, with back turned.²

Some general examples of the prohibition against eating in the presence of or with others follow. A New Zealand gentleman must eat apart from his friends in solitude.³ The Tuitonga might not eat in the presence of older members of his family.⁴ The King of Loango from his birth may never eat with any one. On the Loango coast, among numerous restrictions upon food, occurs a prohibition against eating in company with others.⁵ Amongst the Alfoers of Celebes, the priest who is responsible for the growth of the rice may not during his office eat or drink with any one, nor drink out of another's cup.⁶ In the Sandwich Islands, no one could eat with the chief, who was "sacred."⁷ In Tonga, inferiors and superiors may not eat together.⁸ In New Zealand a slave may not eat with his master, nor even eat of the same food or cook at the same fire.⁹ In some parts of Polynesia a man will never eat with another out of the same basket.¹⁰ It is extremely unusual for Nubians and the Niam-niam to take any meals in common.¹¹ This taboo is

¹ K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Natur-Völkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 66.

² *Id.*, p. 67.

³ Yate, *New Zealand*, p. 20.

⁴ D'Urville, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 77.

⁵ Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, vol. i. p. 172.

⁶ Med. Nederl. Zendeling-Genootschap, vol. xi. p. 126.

⁷ Varigny, *Hawaii*, p. 13.

⁸ D'Urville, vol. ii. p. 77.

⁹ Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of New Zealand*, p. 106.

¹⁰ Waitz, *op. cit.*, vol. v. p. 54.

¹¹ Schweinfurth, vol. ii. p. 447.

he main feature in certain systems of caste. In Tonga there are ranks and orders that can neither eat nor drink together.¹ In Uripiv (New Hebrides), the males are divided into ten "castes" corresponding to age in life. Promotion is marked by a change of name. The members of each "caste" mess together and may not eat with others. Unmarried messmates also sleep together.² In India, "eating together is one of the grand tests of identity of caste."³ A Hindu must take precautions "to insulate himself, as it were, during his meal, lest he be contaminated by the touch of some undetected sinner who may be present."⁴ Under the Kandyan dynasty, the most dreaded punishment for erring ladies was to hand them over to the low-caste Rodyas. A Rodya thereupon was ordered to put betel from his mouth into the mouth of the delinquent, after which her "degradation" was indelible.⁵ There were two lower castes than the Rodyas, who were so despised that no human being would touch rice cooked in their houses.⁶ The Black Jews of Loango are so despised that no one will eat with them.⁷ The Sontals hate the Hindus, and will not receive food which comes from their hands.⁸ The Paharias regard themselves as superior to the Keriahs, with whom they may neither eat nor drink.⁹

The most widely diffused form of this taboo is the rule which forbids men and women to eat together. I am dealing with this elsewhere, and show that the main idea

¹ Mariner, vol. ii. p. 234.

² *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xxiii. pp. 6, 7.

³ Mateer, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

⁴ Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 277.

⁵ Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 189.

⁶ *Id.*, vol. ii. p. 191.

⁷ Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, vol. i. p. 278.

⁸ Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, p. 74.

⁹ Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, p. 89.

is a fear of the contamination of female qualities, such as weakness and timidity.

It is interesting to mark the continuity of habits of thought and action. If we are still averse to eating with, say, "publicans and sinners," we can detect, if we analyse our feelings, this idea of contagion, which is the principle underlying these taboos of commensality.

NOTES ON FOLKLORE OBJECTS COLLECTED IN ARGYLESHERE.

BY R. C. MACLAGAN, M.D.

Corp Chre, or Corp Chreadh (Clay Body, or Corpse).

WHEN a person had conceived an ill will to another the Corp Chre was used as a means of effecting the destruction of the person disliked, without injury to the user. The following is the description of it by a firm believer in its efficacy, who died not long ago in the island of Islay. It was made of clay, like (in form) to the human body. Pins were put into it, and with every pin put in an incantation was said. When it was desired that the person to be injured should die a lingering death, care was taken that the pins should not touch where the heart was supposed to be, but when a speedy death was desired the pins were stuck over the region of the heart.

A. M., a native of Bernera, agrees in the above, but adds the information that the Corp had to be placed in a running stream where it would be acted on by the water. It was made as hard as possible at first, but when placed in the water it began to melt away, and in proportion as it crumbled under the influence of the force of the water so did the person represented waste away and turn to clay.

Another informant states that where each pin is put in the figure a pain will be felt in the corresponding part of the body of the person represented by the image.

A. M. relates the following. In one of the Western Islands two young women set their affections on the same young man. He preferred the prettier of the girls, but the other loved him so much that she determined to destroy her rival. Being a bad girl, she made a Corp Chre and filled it as full as possible with pins. She put it in a running stream, and by-and-by the water began to wear it away. At the same time her rival began to become weak and lean, and at last became so ill that she had to keep her bed. The attentions of the lover, her friends, or the doctor failed to restore her to health. About this time a shepherd in the locality, crossing a stream in search of a strayed sheep, noticed the Corp Chre in the water. He said to himself, "This is nothing but the work of Satan;" so taking it out of the water he destroyed it. On reaching home he informed his mother of what he had seen and done. The old woman at once remarked, "It is just the work of Satan; some wicked person has done that to destroy our neighbour's beautiful daughter. Say nothing to anyone about it and you will see she will soon recover." The mother of the shepherd then went to see the sick girl and told her what had been done. The girl had become very weak and was considered to be near her end, but from the day the shepherd had destroyed the clay figure she improved in health steadily. The jealous girl, at a loss to understand how her scheme had failed, went to ask for the sick one. On entering the house she said, "You are getting better?" "Yes," was the answer, "in His name, I am." The wicked girl went away, and on going to the stream where she had placed the figure she saw that it had been destroyed. She set about making another, but, suspicion having been awakened, she was watched, and being caught making it, was seized and punished.

The following is from a Jura man. The grandfather of the present Laird of — was on one occasion on a visit to — and was returning home accompanied by his servant. He arrived at — on a Saturday night at a point nearly twenty miles from his house. As he was not expected, no servant had been sent to meet him, and he and his servant had to travel the distance on foot. On the way he grew sick and began to lag. At last he said to his servant, "I do not know what is wrong with me; I feel ~~well~~ and am growing weak." The lad, who came of a race that had "Eolas" (knowledge, magical) connections, and knowing some of their secrets, at once suspected some secret mischief, and said, "Oh! I believe the people of — are trying to do you harm. Likely they have some grudge against you for something you may have done to them. Never mind, we are coming near the place, and I will see and put it right." The laird continued to get worse, and at last the lad had actually to carry him on his back for a quarter of a mile. Having reached the point on the main road nearest to the township, which was half a mile distant from it, the lad left the laird at the roadside and went down to the place. Having reached the suspected house, he saw through a window (or through a hole in the wall) several old women he knew busy finishing a Corp Chre, and sticking pins into it. The lad shouted out, "Togha ri theine air a chaillach an K——" (the house of the old woman K—— is on fire). Thinking the house was on fire, the old women rushed out, and under cover of the night the lad went in, got possession of the Corp Chre, and having destroyed it, went back to his master, whom he was already improving, and who soon became quite well.

Not long ago the late laird of — said to one of the people of that township, "Are you one of the K——s who tried to injure my grandfather by a Corp Chre?" The man replied, "I am a K——, but have no connection with those K——s. That was an affair that happened long ago."

There is evidently nothing peculiar to the Highlands in the belief of the power of the Corp Chre, except the fact of its survival. In Poland, however, we still find the same idea slightly modified, the part of the person in which the injury is to be—say, the head—being drawn with human blood on a wall. Into this a needle is stuck. The person represented will suffer from severe headache till the needle is removed. If the whole body were represented, it is evident that this would be identical with the practice of the Corp Chre. Nothing is said about the action of rain on the figure drawn, but the situation is well adapted for the gradual washing away of the representation.¹

The Corp Chre sent with this (Fig. 1) was made in Islay; but the woman who made it will not permit her name to appear, as she is desirous of concealing from her neighbours that she knows how to make them.

When the Corp Chre is made ready for receiving the pins, the operator addresses it in this manner: "'S cos-mhal thu o d' chulaobh ri reithe air am bitheadh sean ruisg" (from behind you are like a ram with an old



FIG. 1. CORP CHRE FROM ISLAY.

¹ See *Am Ur-Quell*, vol. iii. p. 270.

fleece). As the pins are being put in, a long incantation is used, the beginning of which is something to this effect : "Mar a cnamhas thusa, gu cnamhadh ise : mar leonas so thusa, gu leonadh ise" (as you waste away may she waste away, as this wounds you may it wound her).

Corn Maiden.

Cailleach, gen., *caillich* (gen. of *Cailleach*, an old woman ; *cailliche*), s.f. the week in spring after *Gearran*, i.e. from April 12th to the 18th inclusive. (McLeod and Dewar.)

Buanann. The Minerva of Pagan Irish. *Buanann d. dagmathair ac foircheadal gaiscidh do fianaibh*. (Cormac's Gloss.)

Gearran. Last week in February. (O'Reilly.) Scottish-Gaelic dictionaries make this—March 15 to April 11. Nicholson remarks that the suggested derivation "*gearr-shian*" makes the presumption in favour of a short period (page 412). He says (same page) : "After the Gearran came the Cailleach or Old Woman, which lasted a week—12th to 18th April. The grass has by this time begun to grow, and the Cailleach, representing a hostile and withering influence, sits down and tries hard with her '*slachdan*' (bettle or magic wand) to beat down the grass and keep it from growing. Finding her efforts vain, she flings away her mallet in wrath, and vanishes with a shriek into the realm of night, exclaiming :

'It escapes me up and down,
'Twixt my very ears has flown ;
It escapes me here and there,
'Twixt my feet and everywhere ;
This' neath holly tree I'll throw
Where no grass nor leaf shall grow.'

After the abortive attempt of the Cailleach the time came to sow, and that quamprimum : ' Ge b'e 'r bith mar

bhios an t-sian, cuir do shiol anns a Mhart' (whatever the storm, sow in March.)"

Rev. N. Campbell, Kilchrenan, says there is a saw, "Is ioma latha fad gu latha-na-Caillich" (there is many a long day to the day of the Cailleach), on Lochaweside, and that he has been informed that it was a rule never to sow, however good the weather, till that same latha-na-Caillich.

The "Maighdean-Bhuana" seems to be the most usual name for the last handful of corn cut, but in Argyle and the Isles the custom is not at all universal. In Mull it is called "Maiden," but in Islay and in Kintyre and other parts it is called Cailleach (Old Wife).

Miss Kerr, Port Charlotte, Islay, says the only difference seems to be in the name. The Cailleach seems, however, the more common name as we go west. In Bernera, on the west of Lewis, the harvest rejoicing is called "Cailleach" from the last sheaf cut, whether in a township, farm, or croft. Where there are a number of crofts beside each other there is always great rivalry as to who will first have the Cailleach. Some even go out on a clear night after their neighbours have retired for the night, so that they may run her before the other crofters. More neighbourly habits, however, usually prevail, and as each finishes his own he goes to the assistance of another, till



FIG. 2. CAILLEACH (OLD WOMAN).

the whole crop is cut. As they still shear with the hook, the rivalry is often very great. When all have finished the

last sheaf is dressed up and made to look as like an old woman as possible. It has on a white cap (*curachd*), a dress, a little shawl over the shoulders fastened with a sprig of heather, an apron turned up to form a pocket, which pocket is stuffed with bread and cheese, and a hook (sickle) is stuck in the string of the apron at the back, the idea being that in this attitude and costume she is ready to join in the harvest toil. At the feast which follows, the Cailleach, dressed as described, is placed at



FIG. 8. MAIGHDEAN-BHUANA (CORN MAIDEN).

the head of the table, and as the whiskey goes round each of the company drinks to her, saying, "Here's to the one that has helped us with the harvest." When the table is cleared and dancing commenced, she is taken out by one of the lads present, who dances with her, and should the night favour it the party may go outside and march in a body a considerable distance, singing harvest songs, the old wife accompanying them, carried on the back of one of the men. When the Harvest Home is passed the Cailleach is shorn of her gear and used for ordinary purposes.

In Islay when the Cailleach, the last handful of corn cut, has discharged her duties at the harvest, she is hung up on the wall until the time comes for commencing to plough for the next year's crop. She is then taken down, and on the first day the men go to plough she is divided among them by the mistress of the house. They take her in their pockets, and this is supposed to secure luck for the following harvest. She is given by the men to the horses when they reach the field. This is in fact the understood proper finish of the Cailleach.

From the Isle of Skye, however, we have a different form of procedure. Mrs. C. Nicholson gives the following. When the crofters and small farmers are cutting down their corn, each tries his best to finish before his neighbour. The first to finish goes to his neighbour's field and makes up at one end of it a fanciful stook, which is called the *Gobhar Bhacach* (lame goat). As each man in succession finishes his field, he proceeds to set up a lame goat in his neighbour's field where there is still standing corn. No one likes to have it put in his field, not from any ill luck it brings, but because it is humiliating to have it standing there visible to all neighbours and passers-by, and of course he cannot retaliate. In the days when the people had to give their landlord so many days' work in harvest, if the neighbouring proprietor's fields were behind in the reaping and the Gobhar Bhacach put up, it generally caused a free fight between the lads who worked on the properties.

The Argyleshire "Maiden" is very different from the Gobhar Bhacach of Skye. I have seen one in a neighbouring house (near Ardrishaig) made in the form of a fanciful three-cornered wall ornament, decorated with ribbon. It hung from a nail on the wall, and was made up for the purpose of being exhibited on the field or in the house.

The Lochaweside custom is as follows. The last *Cuiseagan* (ears of corn with the straw) was reaped by

the shearer who first completed his *spagh* (strip, literally "claw"), not by the last to finish, who was called the *Cailleach* (Old Wife), used as a term of reproach, like "Lame Goat" in the Isle of Skye. It seems to have been an occasional trick for the first reaper to leave a few ears uncut, hidden under his last sheaf, with a view to their becoming the Maiden.

An old residenter says that the hanging up of the Maiden at the end of harvest was for the purpose of preventing the death of horses in spring.

Nicholson in his *Gaelic Proverbs*, p. 415, says that one account he got made it a competition between the reapers of two rigs, the first done getting the Maiden, the last the Old Wife. The better version, he says, made it a competition between neighbouring crofters, and the man who had his harvest done first sent a handful of corn, called the Cailleach, to his neighbour, who passed it on till it landed with him who was last. That man's penalty was to provide for the dearth of the township, *gort a'bhaile*, in the ensuing season. Nicholson then describes the Maiden as the last handful cut on a farm or croft, and says it was given as a "*Sainnseal* (Hansel) to the horses first day of ploughing." It was meant as a symbol that the harvest had been secured, and to ward off the fairies, representatives of the ethereal and unsubstantial, till the time came to provide for a new crop. He quotes Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* for an early Harvest Home being called in Aberdeenshire a Maiden Claaick, and one as late as Hallowmas a Carlin Claaick. Nicholson draws a distinction between the Maiden and Carlin or Cailleach, and identifies the latter with the local Skye *Gobhar Bhacach*.

It seems unnecessary to draw any distinction between them but that of age, the Harvest Maiden becomes the Old Wife in due course, and she provides for the necessities of the township croft, &c., in the ensuing season. The Skye Lame Goat seems a more or less local modification

of a universal custom in order to "chaff" the laziness of neighbours.

In Martin's *Western Islands* there occurs a noteworthy entry. "Another antient custom observed on the second of February which the papists there (Islay) yet retain is this: the mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats and dress it up in women's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call Briid's-bed; and then the mistress and servants cry three times, Briid is come, Briid is welcome. This they do just before going to bed, and when they rise in the morning they look among the ashes, expecting to see the impression of Briid's club there; which, if they do, they reckon it a true presage of a good crop and prosperous year, and the contrary they take as an ill omen."¹

There can be little doubt as to who is the Cailleach, and just as little who the Maiden, viz. Bridget. Brigit according to Cormac was a female sage, and there seems a decided connection between her and O'Reilly's Minerva of the Irish. Cormac's Buanann, "nurse of the heroes, and good mother for teaching feats of arms to the heroes."

How touchy observers of these ancient customs are is shown in a note I have of a Strath Tummel farmer who departed from the ancient familiarity customary, and had a table for himself and his guests at the Maiden and another for his servants, who are described as taking offence because one of the master's guests, a "Blackcoat," in passing through the kitchen, said, "Chroch sibh a mhaighdean" (you have hung the maiden), a sorry joke and mal-apropos.

Sheriff Nicholson's fairy connection of the Maiden seems an idea of his own; and the blows of the Cailleach's club, which he seems to have considered injurious, were certainly differently interpreted by Martin's informants.

There is a parallel custom in Silesia and Galicia. In harvest a few stalks must be left standing when the last

¹ Martin's *Western Islands*, p. 119.

cut is made, in order that the next harvest may not prove unsatisfactory. A small quantity of fruit must also be left on apple trees, &c., at the time of ingathering. On Christmas Eve a sheaf is set up and called "the Old One." After Christmas this is thrashed, the seed is used for sowing, the stalks are given to the cattle to eat. A portion of this straw is also bound round the fruit trees to preserve them from caterpillars.¹

Snaim (Three-Knot Charm).

The three knots on a thread are used as a charm for other purposes than against the Evil Eye. The charm enclosed (Fig. 4) is intended as a protection against the Evil Eye.



FIG. 4.

taken the books (read a portion of Scripture) as usual, but had not blessed himself specially. "Well," said the man of skill to him, "be sure to bless yourself and your work every morning, for it is that nasty man that lives near you that has a grudge against you." The man then, by means of the *snaim* (three-knot charm), cured the lad.

When a person fails to use the precautions effective against injury by the Evil Eye, he is dangerously exposed to injury from it. A young man, possessed of good looks, was taken ill. A woman, who had "Eolas" (knowledge),

¹ *Am Ur-Quell*, vol. ii. pp. 39, 41, 42.

visited him and asked him how he was. She then said, "You were taken ill all at once?" "Yes," said the lad. "I know what is wrong," said she, "and can soon put it right." She then caused everyone to leave the room where the sick lad was, and getting a ball of red yarn, three ply, she wound it round the points of her thumb, mid-finger, and ring-finger of her left hand, taking care to hold the thread while winding it between the thumb and mid-finger of her right hand. Having wound it in this manner, she took a small piece of burning stick and passed it three times through the circle formed by the thread, which remained as it had been wound on the fingers of her left hand. She then put a knot on the thread, and while doing so brought it near her lips, at the same time going through a lengthy incantation, beginning with the words "Ni mi an obair so" (I do this work), and in which there were frequent allusions to the eye. When the knot had been put on and the charm had been repeated she took the yarn off her fingers, and, commencing at the crown of the lad's head, she rubbed him in a round and round way all over. At this stage a knock "came to the door," and the performer called out, "You are there, I know you." Without opening the door she put the knotted yarn into the fire, saying, "An galar 's easlainnthe chuirinn air mulach an teine" (I put the disease and the sickness on the top of the fire). This she repeated three times, but on the third occasion, instead of putting the thread on the fire, she tied it round the lad's neck. He got well at once. The thread is always tied somewhere that it may not be seen, but it must be on the skin. The woman explained that the knock at the door while she was performing the cure was the act of the one who had done the injury.

In the following case the reciter witnessed the performance. A cow took ill, and the "Eolas" woman was sent for. On arriving she asked them to get her a little yarn in which alum had been used in the dyeing. (It is a necessary condition that any yarn to be used should have

been mordanted in the dyeing with alum, and as alum is always used in dyeing red, red is very generally used on these occasions). The woman then proceeded to wind the yarn round her fingers as described above, and it is explained that the forefinger must not be allowed to touch the yarn during the performance of the charm. She then took what she had wound off her fingers, opened it, and put a knot on the thread, which she held to her lips, muttering the charm. With equal care she, for a second and third time, repeated the winding and tying. She then took the yarn with the three knots, and, commencing at one horn of the cow, rubbed the animal round and round all over, coming back to the other horn. She then tied the three threads on which were the knots, one after the other, with a piece of the yarn to the under hairs of the cow's tail, taking care to have them out of sight. When the cow showed signs of improvement the first knot was taken off and put in the fire, as in the case of the lad. In like circumstance the second knot was burned; the third knot only was allowed to remain on the animal's tail. The woman being asked for the words she used when tying the knots said she would tell them to no one but one of her own family.

In the case of persons affected, the cure is believed to be the more effectual the greater the admiration of the one having the secret for the person operated on. Some persons get a thread so tied to wear as a precaution, even though they have never been affected by the Evil Eye. The charm sent herewith is intended to be worn as a protection. The use of a red thread as a protection against the Evil Eye is a Shetland one. It was common to wear "a small piece of the branch of the roan tree, wrapped round with red thread, and sewed into some part of the garments to guard against the effects of the Evil Eye, or witchcraft.

'Roan tree and red thread
Will drive the witches aa wud.'"

Shoulder-blade of Sheep.

The shoulder-blades of sheep are used in the Highlands for predicting of marriages, births, deaths, and funerals. To be effective the flesh has to be removed without the use of any iron, consequently no knife or fork must touch it. When cleaned properly, one person held it over his left shoulder, and another looked through the thin part of the broad end of the bone, below the ridge.

Stocking, used to dream on.

If a person is to sleep in a bed in which he has not slept before, by taking off the stocking of the right foot, and putting it under his head, he will be sure to dream, and the dream will come to pass.

The enclosed stocking was used by a servant girl, in Oban, on the night of the 23rd May, 1892. No particulars could be got from the girl as to the subject of her dream, but it is understood to have been verified.

The stocking is interesting as a sample of Highland darning.

The exact remembrance of the date of the dream is evidently owing to the girl having gone to a new place at the summer term.¹

Toothache Stone.

At the head of Glen Mor, near Port Charlotte, in Islay, is a large boulder stone. It is said that any person who drives a nail into this stone will thereafter be secure from attacks of toothache. It is called Clach Deide. Enclosed are nails drawn from the stone.

¹ In Silesia, "What is dreamt on the first night in a new house will happen." *Am Ur-Quell*, vol. iii. p. 39.

Among the Wotjaks, "When you lay your trousers under your head you will dream." Compare *Osan*, Gaelic, hose, *Hosen*, German, trousers? *Am Ur-Quell*, vol. iv. p. 91.

The use of nails as toothache charms is common. A farmer in Islay tells how his mother informed him that her mother had an attack of toothache, considered a rather rare thing in those days. A stranger passing called at her residence, O—, and found her in great pain. He informed her he could cure her if she wished him to. Having consented, the man found a horse nail, drove it into the upper lintel of the kitchen door, told her to keep it there, and should it become loose at any time to tap it a little with the hammer until it had a grip, and he assured her she would be free from toothache. She never again suffered from toothache.

In Bernera it is believed that taking the first nail that has been used in nailing down a coffin lid, after the corpse has been put in the coffin, and applying the nail to the sore tooth, will cure toothache.

Buarach (Cow-fetter, for fastening the Legs of Cows while being milked).

To preserve a cow from the influence of the Evil Eye, the stick that fastens the Buarach should be made of juniper wood. Sprigs of the *Ailean* or *Lughair Beinne* (juniper) were also kept in various places about the byres for the same reason. This at least was the custom in Skye.

From Bernera the following shows the belief in the advantage of a particular wood for the button of the cow-fetter, though the reciter did not know what wood was used. M. McL., a crofter, had six cows, but for long failed to get the proper quantity of milk from them. Believing that it was the effect of witchcraft, McL. determined to send to Lewis to a man said to have the skill to cure such cases. His son, who went, was carefully questioned by the Lewis man as to the whole particulars. He then gave him a new Buarach made of horse-hair and a small stick, over which the man had made an incantation, and informing him how

he was to fasten the stick in the fetter, instructed him to take them home and use them regularly at milking time, assuring him that so long as they were kept in use the cows would give their milk satisfactorily. The first morning this was done the milking was quite satisfactory ; but on the cows being let out of the byre, they all ran wildly towards a certain woman's house in the vicinity, and commenced tossing at its walls. The latter fact was accepted by all in the district as proof that the woman of the house had been practising witchcraft on the cows. She was after this so badly thought of that she had to leave the locality.

Cnaimhean-Posaidh (Marriage Bones).

The merrythought of the fowl is broken in the usual way in Islay sometimes to indicate which of the two who break it will first be married. They have, however, another custom. A small hole is drilled through the flat projecting part of the bone ; it is then set astride of the nose of the inquirer, and he tries to pass a thread through the hole. For every failure to pass the thread, a year is understood to intervene before marriage.

A Corn Dream-charm, from Islay.

To dream of your future husband, pluck a few ears of corn with the stalk and put them under your pillow. Threshed corn will not do. This charm worked quite successfully in September, 1894.

Puzzle.

Coirligheilc. Earla gheilc. Garlaidh gheilc. Niarlaidh gheilc. The three latter spellings are phonetic. The first is said to be the "fully expressed" name. The meaning is doubtful. It suggests "Gaelic Whorl." The accent is on the last syllable of Coirligheilc. This puzzle consists of six pieces of wood variously notched, from which a sort of

cross can be constructed. It cannot at present, apparently, be found in the shops of the Low-country. The method of putting together is as follows. The two pieces with the long simple notches are put together, the notches facing, so as to form a parallelogram. Into this are passed the piece without any, and the piece with the smallest notch, the *key*, the notched side of the latter being turned away from the plain piece. The two remaining pieces are fitted on so as to hold the parallelogram together, one of them being pushed into the small notch of the key. These last pieces should come close together, and so complete the whole. The example sent is not made by an expert, but shows the form sufficiently. It has been made of green wood and has twisted.

Divination with Garter.

Garter (a piece of common twine) sent. (See Fig. 5.)

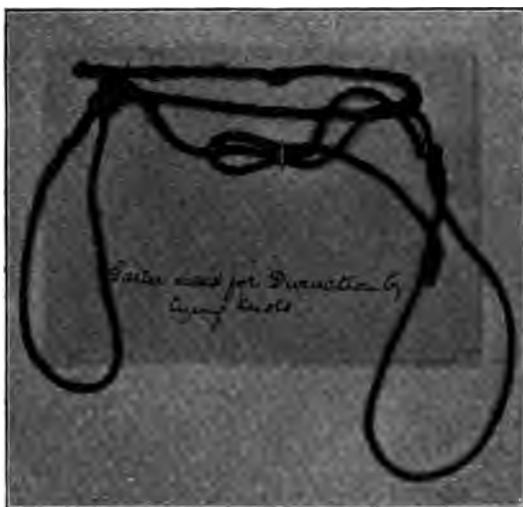


FIG. 5.

A strolling woman passing a house in Kil——, was

entertained with a cup of tea, and *reading the tea cup* (of the girl) divined the existence of two lovers of her entertainer. The girl's garter was asked for, and the two loops made on it, each loop representing a chance marriage. The garter was to be slept on, with the view of procuring a dream. The one lover indicated was believed to be of small worth in that capacity. The second was said to live at a distance and pine in secret. The girl professes not to have desired the proffered services of the volunteer "spaewife." The resulting dream was of "dead fish." Certainly unlucky.

There are two tight run knots on the garter, but these were on it before the magical loops were made.

I am indebted for much of the above information to Miss Elizabeth Kerr, Port Charlotte, Islay, and to the Rev. Niel Campbell, Kilchrenan, Argyle.

Dr. MacLagan has most generously given the objects described in his paper to the Folk-Lore Society, and they will be placed, with other analogous specimens, in the Society's case in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge. The donation was announced at the meeting of the Society on April 24th, and the Council passed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. MacLagan.

The Council would like to take this opportunity of suggesting to members and others interested in folklore that it is very desirable to make a collection of objects, photographs, and engravings which illustrate folklore. Much is on the verge of extinction, more has irreversibly gone. It is now our duty to save what we can. If members will only make the effort they will find that not only can objects still be obtained, but an interest in our science will be extended and new adherents gained.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE LEWIS.

I HAVE transcribed what follows, with a very few verbal changes and omissions, from MS. notes made about thirty years ago by the Rev. Malcolm MacPhail, formerly a school-master in Lewis. He is now a Free Kirk minister in Argyleshire, and did some collecting for the late Mr. Campbell of Islay. I have added a few notes of my own. Mr. MacPhail has been kind enough to read through the manuscript and adjust the dates approximately in a few instances.

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

Tradition concerning the Suil an Rodh.

On the west side of the Butt of Lewis there is a fine natural arch (Fig. 6) through which the sea dashes in stormy weather, but which on ordinary occasions may be reached by scrambling along the shore. It is 70 feet long, 36 feet broad, with a minimum height of 17 feet, and is called by the natives *Suil an Rodh*, "the eye of the butt or promontory." According to tradition, the Scandinavians made it in days of yore by drilling through the high and rocky cliff.

There are many traditions about the *Lochluinaich* and their achievements in the Lewis, and it is related that, at a time when historians were few and far between, what are now the Western Islands of Scotland and green Erin was all one large island, was a province of France, and lay contiguous to Normandy. But the Vikings invaded and conquered it, and established their authority over the whole place. Encouraged by repeated victories over all the western nations of Europe, they determined to undertake a task not unworthy of the Titans themselves. This was to remove their beautiful conquest from the shores of France to Scandinavia, and vast preparations were made for the accomplishment of so grand a scheme.

A huge cable of four strands was made, but each strand, for some magic purpose, was of a different material. One strand was of heather, another of hemp, another of wool, and the fourth was of woman's hair. When the cable was completed, a fleet of a thousand ships for every day in the year sailed from the Scandinavian coast. The sailors were all of gigantic stature and herculean strength. A hole



FIG. 6. SUIL AN RODH.

like the *Suil an Rodh* was punched through a rocky precipice, and the cable was passed through it. Then all these representatives of Hercules pulled and dragged with such energy that at last the beautiful island was torn from its foundations. For a time their voyage was successful, and with their splendid prize in tow they reached as far as Wales, when a large piece broke off and sank, and is now known by the name of Ireland. Misfortunes never come singly; a storm came on, and bit by bit the vine-clad

fields of France broke off and formed the Hebrides. But in spite of weather, the hardy Northmen pulled away vigorously till they reached abreast of the Sutherlandshire coast, when their wondrous cable broke, and down sank what has since been the Long Island, a calamity which forced them to leave the Lewis and adjacent islands in their present forlorn conditions.

Sacrifice to procure good Fishing.

On the west side of Lewis after a successful fishing, or at the commencement of the season when imploring for one, a goat or sheep, but more generally a goat, was bought in common by the fishermen of the same port. The goat or sheep was brought to the seashore where the fishermen were in the habit of landing their fish. Then the oldest fisherman in the district, revered alike for his age and seamanship, was appointed *Pontifex maximus* to conduct and preside at the public sacrifice. The temporary priest now led the victim to the place appointed for the sacrificial rite, and this was so near the edge of the sea that any of the blood spilt would fall into the water. The aged seaman, conscious of the solemnity and dignity of his position, reverently uncovered his hoary head, and on bended knees slew the victim by cutting off its head. With scrupulous care the blood was caught in a boat's bailer. When the blood had ceased to flow he waded into the sea and there poured it out to him whom he considered the ruler of the deep and its numerous inhabitants. He then turned to the carcass of the victim and divided it into as many portions as there were paupers in the district, sending a piece to each, for it was touched by no one else.

The whole ceremony gone through as above was called *Tamraadh*: or *Tamradh*. This religious rite has been

Perhaps from the Irish *tamhach*, "beheading" (O'Reilly); or Tammuz of the prophet Jeremiah. [Mr. MacPhail's note.] The word is also found in O'Clery, but is lost in Highland Gaelic. (J. A.)

performed with due solemnity on at least one occasion within the last seventy years.¹

Such was the propitiatory sacrifice for procuring a good fishing, but a large supply of drift seaware for manuring the land was almost of as much importance. The following ceremony was observed for securing an abundance.

Invocation and Offering to Shoni for Seaware.

All the matrons of divination in a township in the time of spring collected a certain quantity of grain which was intended to be used for making a spirituous liquor, generally ale; and they superintended the process of making the grain into malt. When it had been dried and ground they went, according to custom, to some public place devoted to ecclesiastical purposes, such as the site or ruin of a chapel, &c. Here it was brewed into ale, and as soon as it was ready it was conveyed in libatory vases (craggans) to the seashore, where, wading knee deep, they poured it into the sea, at the same time ejaculating: *Shoni, Shoni! thugain failteas bruca am bliadhna agus bheir sinne barrachd lionna dhutsa an ath-bhliadhna*, i.e., "Soni, Soni! send us plenty of seaware this year and we will give thee more ale next year."

The performance appears to have fallen into desuetude a century or two ago, for the memory of it is well-nigh extinct, and seems "dim and misty in the far-off sea of years."²

¹ At this date ninety years ago. [Mr. MacPhail's note.]

² A fuller account of Soni or Sonidh is given by M. Martin, "A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," reprinted in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, iii. p. 583. "The inhabitants of this island (Lewis) had an ancient custom to sacrifice to a sea-god called Shony at Hallow-tide in the manner following: the inhabitants round the island came to the church of St. Mulvay, having each his provision along with him. Every family furnished a peck of malt, and this was brewed into ale. One of the number was picked out to wade into the sea up to the middle, and carrying the cup of ale in his hand,

Invocation to St. Brianuilt for Seaware.

An invocation somewhat similar to the preceding but directed to another saint or demon was practised in quite recent times, for it seems that on critical occasions there were some who could resort to the practices of "the good old times." The name of the person who performed this invocation is well known, for the writer (Mr. MacPhail) is well acquainted with his great grandson.¹ It seems there was a scarcity of manure (drift-ware) for his lands, but he determined if possible to be no longer in that predicament, and filled with this laudable and well-meant resolution, which was strung to the highest tension by the sombre prospect of a scanty harvest, he went on the 15th of May, old style, being St. Brianuilt's day, to the utmost point of the promontory on which he lived. There he manfully posted himself against a large rock, as if the effort he was about to make rendered some such support necessary, and shouted with stentorian voice:

"Brianuilt, Brianuilt, send seaware, send seaware!"

The legend goes on to say that his prayer was speedily answered, but it was accompanied by such a tremendous snowstorm as caused the affair to be remembered for many a long day.

standing still in that posture, cryed out with a loud voice, saying, 'Shony, I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send plenty of seawear for enriching our ground the ensuing year,' and so threw the cup of ale into the sea. This was performed in the night time. At his return to land they all went to church, where there was a candle burning upon the altar: and then standing silent for a little time one of them gave a signal, at which the candle was put out, and immediately all of them went to the fields, where they fell a drinking their ale and spent the remainder of the night in dancing and singing, &c. Next morning they all returned home."

My friend, the Rev. Thomas Olden, reminds me that there is in the Stowe Missal an ogam name which reads Sonid, who was the scribe, and the colophon contains a prayer to him in Latin in which he is termed Sonid peregrinus. Otherwise he is not known. (J. A.)

¹ The grandson was an old man thirty years ago. [Mr. MacPhail's note.]

Divination with a Sheep's Shoulder.

In Lewis divination by means of the blade-bone of a sheep was practised in the following manner. The shoulder-blade of a black sheep was procured by the inquirer into future events, and with this he went to some reputed seer, who held the bone lengthwise before him and in the direction of the greatest length of the island. In this position the seer began to read the bone from some marks that he saw in it, and then oracularly declared what events to individuals or families were to happen. It is not very far distant that there were a host of believers in this method of prophecy.

Sacrifice of a Black Cock to cure Epilepsy.

A black cock—one hatched in March is essential to the cure—is buried alive with chippings of the patient's hair and nails at the very spot where the patient had his first attack.

Sacrificing a Black Cock for Disease in Cattle.

When a cow had the liver disease a black cock was placed between the legs of the sick cow. Then the bird's back was split open, the heart taken out, and while the fowl was still gasping the bloody morsel was given in water for the cow to drink.

Such treatment is still practised in the island, and only two years ago, in Uig, a black cock was so victimised.

A Cure for Rheumatism.

When a man was afflicted with pains in his joints, a black sheep was flayed alive, and the skin, while still warm, and the sheep still living, was placed over the rheumatic limbs of the patient. This has been done within the last thirty years.¹

¹ At this date fully seventy years ago. I only heard of its having been done once. [Mr. MacPhail's note.]

Magic Cure for the Toothache.

The following rite is still performed in many parts of the island as an effective cure for toothache. A dog-fish being hooked is carefully preserved from touching anything that smells of *terra firma*, and while dangling in this unenviable position the spine or horn that projects from its back is cut out. The fish is then returned to its native element, smarting no doubt from as great pain as even the toothache can inflict. The hallowed spine is taken home and with due solemnity is applied to the aching tooth. It is afterwards preserved with great care.

Deiseil.

Within the memory of people still living, when a funeral came to the churchyard they went round the burial ground with the body sunways before the interment; and afterwards it was buried with the feet towards the east. Mr. MacPhail heard of an old man who said to his neighbours at a funeral: "When I am dead, be sure and bury me so that my feet are in close contact with the rock on the east side of the graveyard, so that I may have a chance of rising before the old fellows." He also learnt from the same informant that within his recollection *Deiseil* was thought so much of by the people of Eorropie (at the north end of Lewis) that, when carrying home the corn in harvest, they would pass on the north side of the ruined *temple* when leaving the stackyard, but would return from the field on the south side—thus completing the tour of the *temple Deiseil*.

It is not more than eighty years ago since going round the cattle sunways on their return from the shielings was disused. More recently than that, if one of the cattle sprained a foot it was made to go sunways round a slab of rock by way of curing it. Mr. MacPhail knows a township in which a rock once so honoured is known as *Clach*

sniomh, "the stone of twisting," from *sniomh*, to twist, twine, wind, &c.

Valuation.

Mr. MacPhail was told that once upon a time (he does not know whether it was a custom or not) the standing corn of a certain township having been destroyed by a severe gale, the old men of the district assembled in council and valued the loss they had sustained on their Maker, believing that he was under an obligation to make it up for them as it was caused by the wind.

When he heard the story, Mr. MacPhail was greatly struck by the ignorance and profanity of such a procedure. His informant, however, was of a different opinion, said it was anything but that, and to substantiate his views gave the following story as an authentic fact. He said that before the men that were valuing left the place where they had assembled, a shoal of fish came into the bay and did not leave for a whole year. And though most of their corn was gone, they nevertheless had abundance of food owing to the amount of fish they used. To make his point more sure he said that the smith of the district made a small fortune making hooks.¹

Lite nam biasti, i.e. Porridge of Vermin.

The first night of dwelling in a shieling (*i.e.* living in it for the summer season) porridge was made, not to be eaten, but to be put into crevices in holes in the wall. The reason why is unknown. This was done sixty years ago.

Fairies.

If a *cas chrom* or spade was left sticking upright in the ground at night or on the Sabbath, the fairies were

¹ My informant was about ninety-five years of age thirty years ago. [Mr. MacPhail's note.]

believed to work with it, but would do more harm than good.

Teine Deiseil.

The first night the cattle were brought home and housed for the winter, fire was carried round them three times sunways. Done seventy years ago.¹

Augel.

The fire taken to the kiln was called *augel*. Evil be to him who called it fire or who named fire in the kiln. It was considered the next thing to setting it on fire.

Funeral Custom.

The relatives of a deceased person distributed liberally bread, butter, cheese, &c., among the poor of the district in which they lived. It was believed that the deceased friend received it with interest in the other world, or according to the Gaelic phrase, "*on the other side.*" Hence the proverb "*gheibh thu thall e*" (thou'l get it on the other side).

Drochaid na Flaitheanas.

On the bridge (*drochaid*) that led to heaven (*flaitheanas*) a one-eyed dog kept watch on one side and a one-eyed cat kept watch on the other side, and allowed no one to pass to heaven who was unkind or cruel to cats and dogs on earth.

Baptism.

If a child died in infancy after having received the rite of baptism, it was believed that it was fed with a golden spoon, satisfying its wants out of *Loch na meala*, the honey lake in heaven. But if one died unbaptised it had to help itself with its fingers from *Loch na meala*.

¹ At this date ninety years ago. [Mr. MacPhail's note.]

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20th, 1895.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. E. Clodd) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Miss M. Debenham, Miss A. Debenham, and Miss R. M. Thompson.

The death of Professor Jean Fleury was also announced.

The following books presented to the Society since the last meeting by their respective publishers through Mr. Nutt were laid on the table, viz.: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Deutschen Zigeuner*, by R. Pischel; *Latwyn Dainas*, by K. Baron and H. Wissendorff; *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke*, by Hans Sachs; and *An Enquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan*, by H. W. Bellew, presented by the India Office through Mr. G. L. Gomme.

A photograph of Dr. Pitre, presented to the Society by the Hon. J. Abercromby, was also exhibited.

The President read a note by Pastor H. F. Feilberg on "Tommy on the Tub's Grave" (*infra*, p. 194), communicated by Miss Roalfe Cox, on which Mr. Nutt and Mr. Emslie offered some observations.

Mr. T. F. Ordish then read his paper on "English Folk Drama;" and a long discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Arthur Dillon, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Higgens, and the President took part.

"Notes from Syria," by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse (*infra*, p. 173), and a paper on "Folklore from North Ceylon," by Mr. J. P. Lewis (*infra*, p. 176), were also read.

NOTES FROM SYRIA.

BY W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A.

LAST summer I made a journey through Syria, from Damascus to Hebron, and I now set before the Folk-Lore Society the few things which I gleaned. I kept my eyes open all the time, but saw very little; neither could I by inquiry find out much more.

Sacred Trees.—These may be seen all over the country. They are covered with the rags of worshippers, sometimes with white banners bearing a name or a prayer. They have beneath them usually the tomb of some Moslem saint; sometimes they are planted in cemeteries; and one I saw standing quite alone by the shores of the Sea of Galilee, with neither tomb nor house in sight. Of one of these trees, which grows at Banias (Cæsarea Philippi), I send a photograph which I took. A dervish's tomb is seen beneath. In Banias is yet another fine tree, under which seats have been placed, and here the faithful do their devotions during the summer, because (I was told) it is too hot in the mosque which stands close by.

These rags, from the dress of the worshippers, are seen in towns tied to the wire netting which covers the windows of saints' tombs; in Damascus, at least one such tomb is seen in the bazaar; again, in the Mosque of El Aksa, on the Temple area in Jerusalem, the windows which look towards Mecca are so covered with rags that you hardly see anything else.

But the queerest instance of tree worship I now proceed to relate. One day I had paused to eat and rest at a spot a mile or two from Tiberias, and the place I chose was a

huge fig-tree, under which a family, as is their wont, had taken up their abode for the summer. Inasmuch as during summer no rain ever falls, the country people mostly leave their filthy huts, and take all their bedding out under a tree in their orchard, or any other that may be handy; or they go afield, and set up some coarse canvas on a couple of sticks: there they stay until the rain begins. These people were a fisher and his two wives, with (of course) a numerous progeny; with them were cats and dogs and poultry. As I sat smoking my pipe, and they all stared at me with the eye of wonder, I inquired concerning this sacred tree aforesaid, upon which the rags hung. The man professed to know nothing of the reason for putting rags there, but gave another piece of information which I valued more. He pointed to three upright strokes, made with red paint upon the trunk of the tree under which we sat, at about six feet from the ground, and said that his son had been ill, and that he had made these marks in fulfilment of a vow on his son's recovery. Red paint as a symbol for blood is so familiar as to need no illustration.

Cairns.—At many places there are small or large heaps of stones by the side of the track. When the pious Moslem first comes in sight of a specially sacred place, such as Hebron or the tomb of Moses, he makes a little heap of stones to mark the spot, or at least he adds a stone to a heap already made. Hence every here and there one finds a whole company of these heaps.

Again, the practice of the Jews to throw a stone at what is called Absalom's tomb is well known. It has half buried the tomb already.

In every field stones are piled one upon another so as to form a rude pillar. I was told that these were made to frighten robbers, who would take them at night for watchmen. It is true that in the dusk they might be mistaken for a man, but I suspect that here, as with English scare-

crows, an old practice which had some other meaning has been explained away.

Evil Eye.—The hand with all its fingers extended is largely used as a sign to avert the Evil Eye. It is painted upon houses or doors; I have seen it on the houses of Moslems, Jews, and Christians alike.¹ For the same purpose, cowry-shells are fastened upon the trappings of animals. Blue is held to be a lucky colour, and hence is often used on trappings, or for such dress as the children have. Blue plates or saucers are often let into the side of a Moslem tomb.

Votive Offerings.—My muleteer made a vow, that as his mule had never yet been to Jerusalem, he would offer a candle in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre if he got there safely. I hope he paid it; he stole my water-bottle.

Barrenness.—Women who wish for children tie a thread round a broken pillar (that which is popularly called the “hanging pillar”) in the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth; and afterwards they wear it about their waist.

Cure for Scorpion's Bite.—At En-Gannim, near Jezreel, I killed a couple of large scorpions in my tent. One of them stung the dragoman, and when I had killed it the muleteer cursed it, took it up, and tore its body in two parts, which he tried to rub upon the bite as a cure.

Exorcism of Disease.—While staying at Nazareth, I heard the sound of pipes and all manner of music coming from a house hard by. So I entered—visitors are always welcome in the East—and a merry scene met my gaze. All round the main room of the cottage squatted a company of men, and women clustered about the doors, while from the window the musicians played a monotonous air with a kind of double reed-pipe and tambourine. The air is as

¹ The open hand, pointing upwards, is a regular part of the carving on Phœnician tombstones and votive tablets. (See the large collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and others in the British Museum.)

follows, as near as I can get it in our notation (to my ear the intervals seemed rather different) :—



repeated over and over hundreds of times, now and then varied thus :—



In the centre of the space was a female figure, dancing, if the word may be used; it stood still for the most part, swaying the body and arms rhythmically, now and then falling on its knees before one of the men, who at once clasped it, amid laughter, while the dancer leant backwards and appeared to try to escape. This was really a man dressed up in woman's clothes, as I discovered afterwards. Anon one of the musicians laid down his pipe, and began to sing a plaintive love song, making eyes at the dancer, who bit the corner of his veil, and bridled, giving himself every air of a coy damsel who is pleased and charmed, but for all the world will not admit it. After I had watched this scene for a while, my eye turned to a corner, and I was startled greatly to see a haggard and death-pale man, sitting up, and propt behind by a woman who kept him from falling. This show was all got up for his benefit, and I learnt afterwards that such things are regularly done for those who are like to die. I should say that, whatever may have been the case before, with such music he would be like to die afterwards.

FOLKLORE FROM NORTH CEYLON.

BY J. P. LEWIS, M.A.

DURING the eighteen months in 1889-1890 that I was in official charge of a part of the Northern Province of Ceylon known as "the Vanni," I came across a few items of folklore which I send you. The Vanni was in the time of the Sinhalese kings a flourishing district; but with the Tamil invasion six hundred years ago, and the consequent destruction of the large irrigation works constructed by the Sinhalese kings, it fell into decay, and has now a population of between fifteen and sixteen thousand, or eight to the square mile. The great majority are Tamils, but there are about a thousand Sinhalese in the extreme south of the district. There are only seventy-five females to every hundred males.

The Tamils are nearly all Saivites and the Sinhalese Buddhists; but the favourite god of the villagers of both races is Pillaiyār or Ganesa,¹ the elephant-headed son of Siva and Durga, and god of wisdom and fortune. The people are much devoted to his *culte*, and on the brink of nearly every tank is to be found a shrine dedicated to him. A broken pillar or head of Buddha or the figure of an elephant sometimes serves to represent the god, or the shrine is indicated merely by a large tree with a trident stuck in front.

Villages are abandoned both by Tamils and Sinhalese because the site is supposed to be haunted by devils or subject to the anger of Pillaiyār or otherwise unlucky. Some Sinhalese villagers attributed the great mortality in

¹ "And on the middle porch god Ganesha—

With disc and hook—to bring wisdom and wealth
Propitious sate, wreathing his sidelong trunk."

Light of Asia, bk. ii.

their village to the fact that there was no Buddhist priest resident there, and consequently got a priest from the adjoining province. After his arrival they say the mortality ceased.

There is considerable belief in charms and witchcraft. Ulcers and other diseases or misfortunes are attributed to sorcery.

On one occasion an *ola*¹ was found fixed on a gate with an invocation to Siva written under a mystical figure, the object of the charm being to cause a separation between the inmate of the house and his wife. The official then in charge of the district records that "acts of this kind are of frequent occurrence and the village people freely believe in their efficacy." He appears to have thought the practice a serious one and to have endeavoured to put a stop to it, for not long afterwards he seized what he calls "about nine hundred diabolical *olas*" in the possession of a man addicted to witchcraft, and bound him over to keep the peace.

Cases of trial by ordeal sometimes occur. On one occasion a man charged with stealing a gun was induced to dip his hand into a pot of boiling ghee, in order to prove his innocence by doing so unhurt. He was of course badly scalded and had to go to hospital for some days. He asserted that he had been compelled by threats to adopt this mode of clearing himself; but, on the other side, it was said that he had done it voluntarily, and in fact at the suggestion of his mother.

The belief in such cures for snake bites or obstinate disorders as the reading of Skanda Purāṇam (a sacred book of the Hindus) is universal. Another cure for snake bite is a mixture of earth and ashes from the Nāka Tampiran temple at Nayinativu, on an island north of the district. "If this mixture be dissolved in water and drunk in the belief that it will effect a cure, it will cure. Many cases of poisoning

¹ A palm leaf for writing on. The charm is figured *infra*, p. 185.

have been cured in this way." The clay taken from a hole in the floor of the church at Madu is also used for the same purpose. It is considered a specific in cases of snake bite, and is generally known as *kovil maruntu*, or "church medicine."

During an outbreak of cholera in the district the women took refuge in the temples "to sanctify themselves."

Superstition is not confined to one class or religion. "A villager who did not like subscribing for a Pillaiyār image, suggested to the Roman Catholic priest to throw it into the tank, which was accordingly done. The Moormen (Mohammedans), however, after a time ascribed some cases of illness to the indignity done to the image, and begged that it might be set up again, which has been done."

The Roman Catholic congregation at Mullaittivu, the chief village in the district, were not at all pleased at my shooting, at the request of the priest, an immense cobra which had taken up its abode in the church, because they said it was a *kovil pāmpu*, or "church snake."

The annual festivals on moonlight nights at celebrated shrines, whether Hindu or Roman Catholic, attract crowds of people, who encamp in the jungle round about, and at night sleep on the ground in the neighbourhood of the sacred places. The most important of these is the Madu festival, which is attended by Roman Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, and Mohammedans alike. The origin of the sanctuary is lost in antiquity. It existed before the Dutch took possession of the island, since Baldœus makes mention of it as a famous shrine celebrated by its earth, which, he adds, is said to cure the bites of venomous serpents. It owes its origin probably to the persecutions of the Christians by the King of Jaffna, some of them together with a few priests having taken refuge in the jungles at Madu, which was then on the borders of the King of Kandy. However, it was only at the beginning of the "seventies" that the pilgrimage was regularly organized. Since then it has

always been progressing. During some years not less than thirty thousand persons have visited the shrine. The festivals begin on the 1st of May, or on the first Sunday of May, and continue until the beginning of October. At the end of June, however, and the beginning of July the pilgrims flock together in greater number than usual. Sometimes over 5,000 have met together at the festival which is celebrated on the 2nd of July. In 1890 the number of persons who visited the shrine from the 1st of March to the 1st of October was over 25,000.

The most interesting ceremony at this festival is the distribution of rice to the pilgrims on the last day of the festival. The following is a description of it from an official diary :—

“ *July 2.*—The last day of the festival. A special service and a general procession round the church in the morning. Then the preparations for the *pitchaisoru* (*i.e.* “ alms-rice ”) began—wholesale cooking of rice and curry by women volunteers—the materials having been collected yesterday, each pilgrim depositing his or her contribution of rice, vegetables, curry-stuffs, &c., under a certain tree. The day is spent by the pilgrims in packing up their carts and preparing for a start. At about 4 p.m. the bell rings, and all the pilgrims assemble in the open outside the church and seat themselves in rows, each with a basket, chatty, or plate in front of him. I suppose this is about the only occasion in which caste prejudices are set aside—people from all parts of Ceylon and from India sit down to a meal side by side, perfectly satisfied as long as those who distribute the rice are of high caste. During the distribution every one is quiet (except perhaps the babies), and no one moves from his place. Rice and two kinds of curry are given to all, and then the bell rings for the blessing, the pilgrims kneel, the priest pronounces the blessing, wishes them good health and good luck, and then comes a stampede. Every one takes up his rice and curry and is off, and

within a quarter of an hour the road in both directions presents a stream of people and carts on their homeward march (there is no disorder and no rowdyism), and by the next morning the place is almost deserted."

The chief Hindu festival is at the Vattappalai temple of Kannakai Amman, a few miles from Mullaittivu. Kannakai Amman was the daughter of a Madura chief, who became celebrated on account of her sanctity and miraculous powers, and who for a time made the Vanni her head-quarters soon after it was colonised from India. She is the patron especially of the Chetty caste, and is supposed to have power over small-pox. She corresponds, I presume, to the goddess Sitalá of Northern India, and she is known to the Sinhalese as the goddess Pattini. The tradition is that she left her husband on account of his unfaithfulness, as she found that he had given her anklets to some dancing girls, and went over to Ceylon. When she arrived at what is now the site of the Vattappalai temple she saw a man engaged in ploughing, and asked him for a drink of water. He left his plough and went to fetch it. On returning he missed his plough; the visitor had turned it into a margosa tree (*Asadirachta Indica*), the plough having been of that wood. The tree is still shown near the temple, and what better proof can there be of the truth of the story?

I was present at this festival on the night of 2nd June, 1890. The temple is situated on the shores of a lagoon on the north-west coast, and is a mere shed. It was midnight and full moon when we arrived. There were about 3,000 or 4,000 people assembled, including a number of Sinhalese from the next province, who are quite as anxious as the Tamils to obtain for themselves whatever immunity from disease and misfortune attendance at this annual festival can afford. Most of the people were lying about in all directions asleep awaiting the time of *pūja* (worship).

The most curious spectacle of the festival was the dancing

of an old man known as Kattādi Udaiyar,¹ whose office it is to dance in honour of the goddess. This office is hereditary in his family. He is supposed during these performances to be possessed. After the Brahmins had finished their *pūja* he came and stood before the entrance to the temple under a canopy consisting merely of a strip of white cloth supported by two sticks. He then tied some pieces of different coloured cloth together and succeeded in making a sort of doll, which he carried in his left hand during the performance which followed. The tom-toms now starting a low continuous rumbling he set off on a violent tremble, keeping, as it were, in time to the tom-toms, and his whole body shaking in the most extraordinary manner. When he had shaken sufficiently long and arrived at a climax, the tom-toms at the same time accelerating their pace, he threw a handful of rice in the air. This he repeated two or three times in the direction of each quarter, turning to each of them successively, beginning with his face to the temple. The people believe that this rice never returns to earth, but is caught up in the air by the goddess. The fact is, each handful is nearly all shaken out of his hand before he considers himself sufficiently worked up to throw it. Next, seizing his parti-coloured doll with both hands, he danced about violently, holding it at arms' length and shaking it in every direction as if to worry the life out of it. Finally he placed it in the innermost part of the temple.

This ended the first part of the performance. The next thing was to conciliate the devils by providing offerings for them also. A cloth about a yard square was set out with little heaps of betel, areka-nuts, and rice. The *Kattādi* then, standing with his back to the temple, held in both hands over the cloth a sort of silver wand. This, it appears, was to warn the devils to be obedient. Next, standing in the same position, he slowly lifted in each

¹ Kattādiyā in Sinhalese=devil-dancer.

hand a burning wick over his head, and finished by flinging them away from him over the cloth. He repeated this action, substituting two rolled-up betel leaves for the wicks. He next went through the process of saluting the devils by putting his hands on his head in the proper attitude for salutation and turning in this position to the four quarters successively, devoting a certain time to each quarter impartially. After this he threw rice to each quarter. While doing this his action was exactly that of a person "putting the weight." An assistant stood behind him holding his left hand behind the *Kattādi*'s right and helping the latter with a shove off each time, while with his right hand he kept rapidly replenishing or pretending to replenish the thrower's hand with rice after each throw. As all this was done very quickly, the effect was that of one man putting an imaginary weight with another close behind him keeping time to and imitating his action. The tom-toms meanwhile kept up the same low rumble (these performances would have been nothing without them) the whole time, and the jingle of two bangles held by the *Kattādi* in his left hand helped to vary the din.

The principal ceremonies performed by the people were those of burning camphor (which was being hawked for their convenience on the spot by Mohammedan traders) and boiling rice on three large pots before the temple. These pots are tied together by a string, and fires are lighted under them in holes dug in the ground. The people believe that this string is never burnt by the fire, also that the lamps in the temple burn with sea-water instead of oil.

There was no disturbance of any kind during the festival, but merely a little struggling to get a good place when the *pūja* began. A switch was then freely used to restore order, but nobody resented it in any way.

It was stated that Mr. Nagel (the Dutch administrator of the Vanni 1783-1796) once visited the temple on the festival

and presented a garland of flowers to it (this was very unlikely under the Dutch Government), and that on this occasion the *Kattādi* of the time made the large *panichchai* tree (*Diospyras emboopteris*) near the temple dance, since when it has never borne any fruit. This *panichchai* is of enormous size, it is the largest tree of the kind in the district.

There are other Hindu festivals at different temples in the district, generally in June or July on full-moon day. At one of them it is the ceremony of the bathing of the spear of Kandaswāmi¹ which is carried in procession from the temple to a sacred pool for that purpose. The pool is about six miles from the village. It is about a quarter of a mile long and never dries up. The people believe that when the spear is bathed the water rises one foot. This is easily accounted for by the fact that at the same moment as many people as can get into the pond do so. Pilgrims before bathing throw money into it.

Kandaswāmi is at one time of the year taken out to hunt deer, a shed for his accommodation being erected in the neighbourhood of the village.

"It is interesting to observe how the seats of the chief temples are still the emporiums of commerce at the festival seasons, when inhabitants of the most distant villages congregate to pray and to purchase." A fair at the next village on the high road follows the festival at Vattappalai, and the road is lined with temporary shops made of coon-nut leaves.

I quote from an official diary² an account of a curious and interesting custom observed on one of the roads :

"Under a *naval* tree (*Eugenia jambolana*), at the boundary between [two] villages, every man travelling along the road religiously deposits a stick, while every

¹ The god of war, son of Siva.

² Diary of Mr. E. M. de C. Short, C.C.S., February, 1892.

woman who passes picks up one from the heap with her foot and throws it away.

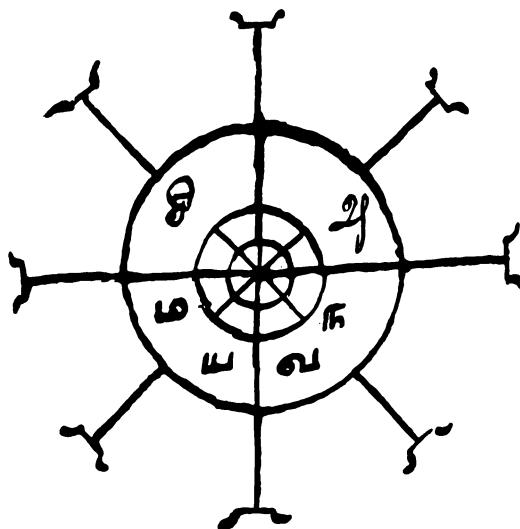
"The origin of this custom is given as follows :

"Once upon a time a woman ran away from her husband, and while on her journey sank exhausted on this road. A man pitying her condition lifted her on his shoulder and carried her along. A second traveller, in his surprise and contempt at seeing a woman in such a position, put out his tongue at her, which action the woman interpreted as an offer to carry her on his tongue, and she at once proceeded to accept it. The first traveller, annoyed at her ingratitude, left her and departed, the second also decamped, and the woman perished miserably. The heaping up of sticks on the spot where she died marks the males' disapproval of the conduct of a faithless wife. The surreptitious removal with the foot shows womanly sympathy with an erring sister! The custom has existed 'from time immemorial.' Some villagers of the male sex coming behind me deposited their sticks on the heap. I had not the advantage of witnessing the procedure adopted by female travellers along this road."

I once noticed two men who, contrary to the usual Tamil practice, were wearing full beards. It was explained that it was the custom of some of the Vanni men to let their beards grow during the time of their wives' pregnancy.

When a youth attains manhood, if he can afford it, he has his ears pierced for earrings, which ornaments he thereafter wears. At the same time his head is shaven, with the exception of a small tuft on the crown, which is allowed to grow long and is tied into a knot. If he cannot afford earrings he has to go with unshaven head, and his hair is then tied into a knot on the side of his head, which gives him rather a quaint appearance. This custom is not peculiar to the Vanni, but is prevalent among all the Tamils of the north of Ceylon.

NOTE.—The following is a representation of the figure drawn on the charm referred to on page 177 for separating man and wife, with a translation.



Inside the circle, in Tamil, "May Siva be blessed." Outside, "May Kanapati, son of Katiran, and Abirami, daughter of Silamban, be separated in rage and anger, so that they may not see each other's face. May rage and anger hover about them like the black stork of the black hills. In the name of Siva."

REVIEWS.

STUDIES IN FOLK-SONG AND POPULAR POETRY. By
ALFRED M. WILLIAMS, with a Prefatory Note by
EDWARD CLODD. 8vo, pp. vi., 329. Elliot Stock,
1895.

THIS volume consists of eleven essays on the following subjects :—American Sea Songs ; Folk-Songs of the [American] Civil War ; English and Scottish Popular Ballads ; Lady Nairne and her Songs ; Sir Samuel Ferguson and Celtic Poetry ; William Thom, the Weaver Poet ; The Folk-Songs of Lower Brittany and of Poitou ; Ancient Portugese Ballads ; Folk-Songs of Hungary and of Roumania. It will be seen that Mr. Williams includes a good deal that scarcely comes within the usual range of the folklorist. Yet he will not be wholly condemned for this by those who hold, with the present writer, that folk-song belongs to no special period in the world's history, but, given the needful conditions, may spring up at any time ; and further, that the circumstances which give birth and currency to even modern folk-songs are worthy of investigation. We frequently know the names of the few modern composers of such songs, while we never know those of the ancient ones ; that is the main distinction between the new and the old. From this point of view, many of Lady Nairne's and even of Rudyard Kipling's verses, for instance, may be regarded as folk-songs. So may some of the songs of the American civil war, poor and vulgar as they are. But in what sense the compositions of William Thom, a peasant writer of literary verse, and those of Sir Samuel Ferguson, a modern versifier of ancient legends, can be classed either as folk-songs or as popular poetry, it is difficult to understand. We would willingly

have exchanged several of the essays for a careful study of American negro-songs. Where do they come from? Are they the songs of the Negroes themselves or the songs of other people about them? Surely the sweet haunting airs and the quaint realism of (say)

"We soon shall come to the good-bye gate,"

or

"Golden slippers I must wear
To walk in the golden street!"

never sprang from a "cultured" imagination. Negro folklore of all kinds should yield most important evidence in the much-debated "transmission" question, and it is disappointing to find it entirely overlooked by an American writer on folk-songs.

However, Mr. Williams is more concerned with the poetic than with the folkloric side of his subject. Except where biased by national prejudice, his remarks for the most part show much taste and judgment. He thoroughly appreciates the essential qualities of a folk-song—the vivid picturesqueness, the importance of sound as compared with sense; the frequent incompleteness of the words without the air; the rapid turns and disconnected method of narration; and the passages he selects for quotation or comment are decidedly well chosen, though his attempts at translation cannot be commended. But notwithstanding blemishes, considerable interest and enjoyment may be found in the study of his pages.

THE EGYPTIAN BOOK OF THE DEAD. Translated by
C. H. S. DAVIES. Putnam Sons, New York.

DR. DAVIES rather prejudices himself with a reviewer by his statement in the preface, "That there are probably not

half a dozen persons living capable of making a correct translation of the 'Book of the Dead.'" It is true that he himself scarcely lays direct claim to be one of the six, since the present translation of his only professes to do into English Pierret's French version of 1882. But at any rate he claims that his translation of Pierret would be better appreciated by the general reader than that of Dr. Le Page Renouf, which is now appearing in the transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. That eminent Egyptologist has found it necessary to accompany his translation with a large number of explanatory notes. Dr. Davies appears to think that the ordinary reader can understand his version of Pierret while running, since he vouchsafes no commentary on his text. As a consequence we get large blocks of what can only be described as unintelligible rubbish, the exact utility of which it is somewhat difficult to see. Perhaps the descendants of the old lady who found such comfort in that blessed word Mesopotamia may find their account in this version of the Book of the Dead. Here, for instance, is a short chapter presented to the reader without the slightest comment.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

Title: A chapter about making the flame go up.

Vignette: The deceased sitting down among four lamps.

1. I arrive near Râ, I come to Râ (*different reading*). I am the eye of Râ, and of Horus, and of the Osiris N. I am invoked as the messenger of thy protectors
2. who perform their protection over thee, Osiris, Regent of Eternity, illuminating the night after day-time. O Osiris N. ! The hand of Horus is in the hand of Osiris
3. the residing in the West. The eye of Horus is for them. The Osiris N. throws down all thy foes Osiris, the residing in the West.

This perhaps presents an extreme case of unintelligibility, but even when the words convey more sense at first

sight they are equally unintelligible when taken in their context. We are, accordingly, forced to adopt one of two alternatives: either M. Pierret's version is very poor and inadequate, or the Book of the Dead was written in a cryptic speech, the clue to which has not been discovered. Perhaps these alternatives are not mutually contradictory, but under any circumstances the student of mythology will be more puzzled than enlightened if he makes use of this version.

Nor will he be much assisted by Dr. Davies's introductory remarks. He still clings to the discredited theory of the origin of myth in metaphor. Most people are now agreed that prehistoric people were not such great punsters as this theory would have them to be. Dr. Davies seems to be unaware that a plausible and light-giving explanation of the remarkable animal-worship of the Ancient Egyptians can be found in the theory of Totemism. The truth is, he has begun at the wrong end. He expresses his opinion that the Book of the Dead gives the oldest and one of the completest accounts of primitive belief. On the contrary, if there is one thing clear about this mysterious book, it is that it exhibits a highly developed and syncretised form of the esoteric views of the priestly caste of Egypt. To regard it as in any sense primitive is as elementary an error as to look upon an aniline dye as one of the chemical elements. Quite apart from that, the Book of the Dead is really a conglomerate of documents of different ages, and the first stage in its criticism would be to disentangle the various threads. To attempt to get to the origin of Egyptian religion from it is as wild an undertaking as to seek the *origines* of the municipal government in England from the present position of the London County Council.

Altogether, it will be seen that I cannot recommend Dr. Davies's handsome volume as likely to be of much help to students of Mythology. Whether its finely engraved text can be utilised by students of Egyptology I cannot say, but

I fear it cannot be denied that this noble-looking volume is only a monument of wasted labour on the part of Dr. Davies, and of useless expense on the part of his publishers.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

EGYPTIAN TALES TRANSLATED FROM THE PAPYRI. First Series, IVth to XIIth Dynasty. Edited by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Hon. D.C.L. Illustrated by TRISTRAM ELLIS. London, Methuen & Co., 1895.

THIS is the first series of a translation of tales from the Egyptian papyri under the editorship of Professor Petrie. The tales are not quite literally translated, but with an attempt to render, as far as possible, the style and tone of the original. They are preceded by a short introduction and accompanied by comments by the Editor, to whom we are indebted, if not for the translations themselves, at least for all that is involved in their actual shape and phraseology.

It need hardly be said that a work of this kind by so accomplished an Egyptologist as Professor Petrie is admirably done. The notes he has appended are of service in elucidating the texts. Four tales are given in this volume, all of which have been previously translated into English or French. New translations were, however, desirable, and even in some cases necessary, in consequence of the progress of our knowledge. From a folklore student's point of view, perhaps, the most interesting of the tales is the first. And not the least matter of interest is that it affords the earliest example of the plan of weaving several tales into one, which has in later times been so frequent a device of oriental story-tellers. Unfortunately it is a mere fragment. Such as it is, it contains two entire

stories of magicians and a considerable portion of a third. The latter relates the births of three kings of the fifth dynasty, the children of the god Ra by the wife of one of his priests, the destinies pronounced upon them, and the divine gifts left for them by the goddesses who assisted at their birth.

A good example of the value of Professor Petrie's notes is that on the last tale in the volume—*The Adventures of Sanehat*. The perplexing thing about the plot of this tale was that the hero, on hearing of the king's death, fled precipitately out of the country, and remained away for years. There was no apparent reason for his flight, since he was in nowise guilty; and when he is at last pardoned and restored to favour by the monarch's successor, the only fault laid to his charge is that he fled. The editor's conjecture is that he was a scion of the royal house who fled lest the heir might look upon him as a rival and put him to death. Every detail seems in harmony with this conjecture, and it throws a flood of light upon the story. In the same way Professor Petrie has, provisionally at all events, identified the course taken by the fugitive, which was given up as hopeless by M. Maspero.

The famous tale of *The Two Brothers* is not included in the present volume. From the introduction we gather that it will be found in the next, since it has with some others been almost entirely retranslated by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith from the original papyrus for this work. The introduction, it should be observed, is intended to apply not merely to this first instalment but to the whole work. It refers to more than one tale not yet laid before the reader. We shall look with interest for the completion of Professor Petrie's task.

TALES OF THE FAIRIES AND OF THE GHOST WORLD
collected from oral tradition in South-West Munster
by JEREMIAH CURTIN. David Nutt, 1895.

If we were asked to designate by a single epithet most of the stories in this little volume, that epithet would be *weird*. Within the compass of an equal number of pages we hardly know a collection of folk-lore, at any rate of recent date, containing so many thoroughly uncanny stories. Mr. Curtin is an indefatigable and successful collector. Hitherto his publications have been of *märchen* and hero-tales allied to *märchen* in their Celtic magnificence and repudiation of the conventions of ordinary romance. The present volume deals with sagas which, told, as they usually are in Ireland, among a believing peasantry, must go near to making "each particular hair to stand an-end," must at least rouse the imagination of the hearers and surround them with terrible sights and sounds long strange to us who dwell in the garish daylight of a different world. All the stories, it is true, are not of this kind. Some of them witness to a livelier humour, such as we meet in the tales told from East to West of woman's tricks and woman's wiles. But they bear a small proportion to the rest, and even they are touched with the same uncanny tone.

Scientifically the chief question raised by the stories, as pointed out by Mr. Alfred Nutt in his excellent preface, is that of the connection between the different classes of supernatural beings. The attributes of a ghost—that is to say, the spirit of a dead man—are indistinguishable from those of a fairy. Witches are not brought so prominently before us as ghosts and fairies; it is equally certain, however, from what we know elsewhere, that the attributes of witches and of fairies are often confounded, if, indeed, they be not the same. We have lately had before our eyes an example in the "Witch-burning" case at Clonmel. The



unfortunate woman who was burnt to death was regarded as a fairy changeling, but she seems to have been spoken of indifferently as a witch. We must turn to savage beliefs for an explanation of this. There we find no distinction between the powers of disembodied human spirits and those of other mysterious beings ; and the same powers are capable of being acquired by shamans, medicine-men, or whatever else they may be called. The fact seems to be that, although in process of time distinctions have been evolved between different classes of supernatural existences, the evolution has been imperfect, and much remains of their common character.

The volume before us comprises, of course, many variants of tales already well known, while others appear to be quite new. All are told with freshness ; and most of them illustrate with striking force Mr. Curtin's statement that the beliefs to which they relate "are among the main articles of faith for a good number of the old people" still living. Scattered up and down are interesting observations on the practices of the peasantry, those on funeral customs and the superstitions attaching to the clothes of the dead being specially worth study.

We have our doubts whether Mr. Curtin possesses the qualifications for "a connected and systematic account of Gaelic mythic belief and legend" for which Mr. Nutt longs at his hands. But that he has many of the qualities of a successful investigator as well as of a first-rate collector his books amply prove, and the *Tales of the Fairies* is not the least among his books in this respect.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TOMMY ON THE TUB'S GRAVE.

(Vol. v. p. 290.)

REGARDING this game I beg leave to give the undermentioned parallel. An elderly lady still living has told me that she clearly remembers having seen in her youth, about sixty years ago, at the two gates of the old town Ribe in spring little shepherdesses with small tables spread with white cloths, strewn with flowers, while they themselves had garlands of the yellow flowers of the trollius and caltha. They would stretch out their hands to entering strangers and citizens: "Remember the small shepherdesses, please!"

This seems again to be part of the custom which I have heard described by old men and women in the parish where I lived till three years ago. It is most beautiful. On Whitsunday the "whitsun-bride" (*pinse-bruden*) is dressed up. It was commonly done in a home with children, where some of the grown-up girls assembled to choose and dress the little bride and her groom. She was decked in all the finery of a grown-up bride, and wore a crown of the freshest flowers of spring on her little head, with red and white ribbons. Her groom was made as handsome as such a little bright-eyed, happy, ruddy boy could become with flowers, ribbons, and knots. The other children decorated themselves as they best could with flowers, the trollius and caltha. First came two little girls walking at the head of the procession as "bride's-maids," the bride and bridegroom holding each other's hands. Then were the two "bride's-wives," and afterwards the boys, walking in pairs. But before them all the six or eight "grown-up" girls on hobby-horses galloped on ahead, as "ought to do, to the farmhouses, then

returning, doffed their hats to the bridal couple, and galloped along again. On entering the gate of a farmhouse they sang :

“ Here comes Offer, here comes *Ædelig*,
Here comes seven men’s *Ædelig*,
Here come all the king’s yeomen.”

Two girls carrying baskets advanced : “ A gift, ma’am, please ! ” The housewives looked into the baskets to see what they had and what they wanted, and supplied their wants as they could. They got eggs, butter, loaves, cream, coffee, sugar, tallow candles ; especially were the godfathers and mothers of the bridal couple expected to give liberally. It is still remembered how the old clergyman, one of my predecessors, once gave the little bride a small silver coin for every person of the procession. When the circuit was at an end some of the farmers’ wives helped the children to arrange the wedding feast, and the children kept on dancing on the stamped clay floor till the sun rose and the birds began singing. The children were satisfied with sorry comfort, dancing in clogs, and it sometimes would happen that two boys had one pair of boots in common ; then they danced alternately with boots on and alternately with stockings alone or clogs.

Now the little “whitsun-bride” and the joyous bridal feast have disappeared with their mimic pomp. Only the old folks are still able to remember them.

H. F. FEILBERG.

Askov, near Vejen, Denmark, February, 1895.

When a child of about eight or ten years I lived with my mother in the suburbs of Hamburg, and remember very distinctly that after school hours, playing with other neighbours’ children, boys as well as girls, we made in summer (towards the close of it, when the evenings get longer) little arrangements of silver sand, carefully moistened to be able to mould it better, often in pretty tasteful designs, representing a triumphal arch. We called it in German *Ehrenpforte*. When finished this building was decorated with flowers, shells, &c., and after completion the boldest of the party were sent out to beg of passers-by for the *Ehrenpforte*. The money thus collected was invested in tiny wax candles (like those used for Christmas trees), and these were fixed in pretty designs

into the damp sand and lit as soon as twilight commenced. As long as the little tapers burned we would patrol proudly before the *Ehrenforte*, often using this as a pretext not to obey the first call for going to bed. When the last spark had gone particular care was taken to destroy our work of skill, leaving only the heap of sand. This game was very common at the latter part of summer, and I think the children had sometimes as many as six or eight of these little decorated buildings in the closest vicinity.

I have also here in the immediate neighbourhood been asked by boys as well as girls with shells for contributions towards similar little sand buildings, which I connected in my mind with the games I described above, and I forgot to ask for the name. As far as I can remember this was not in spring but in summer, and also towards evening. The children ask for the money in a little rhyme.

122, Coningham Road, W.

M. NIELSEN.

The custom above described seems closely related to that of the "grotto," which is still to be seen towards the end of August in Surrey, and doubtless elsewhere around London. The last grotto which I inspected—this was near to Mitcham Common—was merely a conical mud-heap, about two feet high, having large stones embedded in its surface, and a sprig of green stuck on the top. But the genuine grotto, such as my father remembers frequently to have seen in London some forty years ago, and which it is no doubt superfluous to describe, was a hollow structure made of the oyster shells collected by children at the beginning of the oyster season. The money was to buy candles for illuminating the interior of the grotto.

M. R. C.

CHAINED IMAGES.

(Vol. iv. pp. 108, 249.)

My attention has been called to the belief in some parts of India that images of gods which have been acquired by theft are much more valuable than those otherwise obtained, and are more

easily propitiated, while a man who loses such an image is obliged to fast (*North Indian N. and Q.*, iii. 117; *F. L.*, v. 83); and that, further, rival clans try to steal away one of the rags tied to the sacred tree of the other (*N. Ind. N. and Q.*, 119; *F. L.*, v. 83).

It appears to me that the existence of a practice of stealing gods affords a very good reason for the practice of chaining them. I observe that Major Temple, who long ago taught us that folkloric practice is generally based on common-sense reasoning from false premisses, gives two Burmese instances (*F. L.*, iv. 249) of chained images. One was avowedly fastened to prevent its returning to the place whence it had been stolen. The other had once fled from its native pagoda, and obviously might be expected to do so again.

On looking for further corroboration, I notice that (in *F. L.*, v. 280) Mr. W. D. Rouse gives, from *North Indian N. and Q.*, "three instances of gods covered with lids so as to hide them quite. For one, the story is told that the goddess used to climb on trees and ask the names of people, who then died. The lid apparently stops her." Pointing out these parallels to Mr. Rouse, he suggested two Greek examples to me: first, that Troy could not be taken until the sacred image of Pallas was stolen, which was accordingly done by Ulysses and Diomede; secondly, the statue of Victory at Athens, in which she was represented without wings, lest she should leave the city.

Again, in *F. L.*, i. 167, Mr. J. G. Frazer quotes Pliny to the effect that when the Romans besieged a city the gods of the city were always formally invited to desert it and help the Romans, while the name of the guardian god of Rome was kept secret lest he should be enticed away in a similar manner. He gives a parallel case from Tahiti, where during a siege both sides would endeavour to bribe the gods respectively to go and to stay, by exhibiting all their choicest valuables to them.

It is easy to understand the value of a stolen god, especially if it were a celebrated one, as its loss would of course weaken the thief's enemy (or his neighbour, which would be much the same thing) and take away his "luck," just in the same proportion as it brought luck to himself. Independently of this there would seem to be some sort of virtue in stolen things. Stolen meat cures warts, we know, and stolen potatoes rheumatism. And on referring to Turner's *Samoa*, I find (p. 272) that in the island of



A CHURCHYARD CHARM.

I am including in my revised paper on "Norfolk Folk-Lore : Charms, Witchcraft and Magic," written in a popular style, and which I read occasionally at social evenings in town and country, the following curious churchyard charm, given by the Chedgrave witch (a notable wise woman in Norfolk at the beginning of the century) to a Loddon girl, and written down from dictation by Miss M. H. James. But though the charm may have been clear to the original (or did the charm's charm consist in its unintelligibility?), I find it difficult to work the operation out satisfactorily. Perhaps the Society can assist me in unravelling this, as one is often asked "how it is done" by inquiring lady listeners at the conclusion of the paper. The following is the charm :

" To gain a husband, name known or unknown,
 Make your choice on a graveyard stone.
 Quarter-day's night if there fare a moon,
 Pass thro' the church gate right alone ;
 Twist three crosses from graveyard bits,
 Place them straight in your finger slits,
 Over the grave hold a steady hand,
 And learn the way the side crosses stand :
 One is yourself and your husband one,
 And the middle one need be named of none.
 If they both on the middle cross have crossed,
 His name you win, and a year you've lost ;
 For he who lies in the namesake mould
 His soul has sold—or he would have sold,
 And you give a year which the dead may use,
 Your last year of earth-life that you lose."

I cannot help imagining that explicit instructions were given at the time to ensure the due carrying out of the charm, but these I fear are now unobtainable..

W. B. GERISH.

MR. W. B. YEATS' POEM OF *COUNTESS KATHLEEN*.

The plot of the poem is this. Two merchants arrive in the midst of a great famine, and, pulling up at an inn, offer a great price for souls. The people, rather than starve, sell their souls,

until the Countess Kathleen, the great lady of the place, sells hers for an immense sum and gives the money to the poor. She then dies of a broken heart, but is afterwards saved by a special interference of Providence.

The substance of the story was printed many years ago in an Irish newspaper as a piece of Irish folklore. There is, however, some reason to doubt this, and to think that it is French or Breton. Can any reader throw light upon its true source?

E. S. H.

VILLAGE CROSSES.

On reading Mr. Arthur J. Evans's interesting paper on the Rollright Stones, it occurred to me, in connection with the *Rolandsäule* of North Germany, that I should like to ask whether it is possible that the village crosses of England had ever anything in common with them? These *Rolandsäule* were columns, and stood in the market places. English village crosses are often the stumps of tapering stone pillars, generally set on steps; they usually stand, when not in churchyards, at the junction of three or four roads. In this village, a place where three roads meet is called "The Cross," although no cross stands there; this, however, might only mean the crossing of the roads. Pooley says there are no market crosses at all in Gloucestershire, while Somerset abounds with them; yet the old proverb says, "As sure as God's in Gloucestershire;" and it has plenty of *churches*. I know of one village cross (Cowley) standing in a cottage garden. Its top, as usually seems the case, has been restored; but the lower is old. Was it the Puritans who destroyed the upper parts of these old crosses? Is there any folklore connected with them? And is it believed that, as the *Rolandsäule* probably represented the old stone or wooden images of the old Saxon gods, these Christian crosses may stand on the site of some earlier pillar or image? Was justice ever administered at the cross or the rude stone pillar to which the cross was added later? and why are there so many in Somerset?

EDITH MENDHAM.

MISCELLANEA.

NORFOLK NURSERY RHYME.

THE following was communicated by an old Norfolk lady, aged 95, to Miss Edith Sayers :

“ I went down the garden,
And there I found a farden ;
I gave it to my mother
To buy a baby brother;
My brother was so cross
We put him on a horse ;
The horse was so rounded (? so randy *or* bandy),
We gave him a drop o’ brandy ;
The brandy was so strong
We put him in the pond ;
The pond was so deep
We put him in a cradle
And rocked him off to sleep.
With a heigh-ho !
Over the bowling-green.”

I may say this rhyme was used by the children when engaged in swinging. When the child just entered the swing all the children chanted this rhyme, led by the one who pushed the swing, and when they came to the “ heigh-ho !” a more energetic push than usual was given to the occupant of the swing, who was then expected to vacate the swing and allow another child a turn. Thus the rhyme served to allowance the time each could have, and thus give each and all a fair share of enjoyment. The rhyme it is believed has almost entirely died out at this date (1895).

W. B. GERISH.

CHARMS.

Charms from a small manuscript book belonging to a blacksmith-farrier at Clun, in Shropshire, named Powell, communicated by the Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, B.A., Vicar of Llanigon, Radnorshire. The charms are given *verbatim et literatim*, with a few omissions supplied, and the explanation of the less obvious orthographical blunders. They are in a handwriting of the early part

of the present century, and have probably been copied from some still earlier manuscript.

"For a Sprain or Bruse."—Our Sauiour Jesus Crist roate on a marbel Stone Senow to Senow Joint to Joint Bone to Bone he Roat thes wordes everey one In the Name of the Father Sone and Holey Gost Amen Swet Jesus Amen Swet Jesus Amen. Going round the afflicted place each time with your hand and the Lordes praier each time and mark it thus ✕ 3 times or if verry bad 9 times.

"For a Wound."—Our Saviour Jesus Crist pricked with nailes and with thornes it never festerd nor never shall in the [name] of the Father and Sone and Holey gost Amen he was nailed to the croce to cure our woundes with the Blesing of God I do this with my hand hoping in the name of Swet Jesus our woundes shall be cured Amen Amen Amen—to be said 3 times and the lordes praier before and hafter and mark thus ✕.

"To Drowe a thorn."—Then came Jesus forth whering the crown of thorns and the purpel robe and pilat said write [? unto] them behold the man Amen Amen Amen — to be said 9 times and the Lordes praier before and hafter hold your midil finger on the place and go round it each time and mark it thus ✕.

"A C[harm] to Stop blud."—Our Saviour Jesus Crist was borne in Bethalem was Baptsed of Jon in the river of Jordan. God commanded the water to stop & it stope So in his name do I command the blood to Stop that run from this orrafas [orifice] vain or vaines as the water Stope in the River of Jordan wen our Saviour Jesus Crist was baptized in the name of the Father. Stop blud in the name of the sun stop blood in the name of the Holeygst not a drop more of blud proceduth Amen Amen Amen — to be sed 3 times but if the case be bad 9 times and the Lords praier before & after holding your rithand [right hand] on the place and mark the place thus ✕ with your midel finger.

"For the Toothake."—Holey Peeter Sate at the gate of Jerusalem Sorley grevid with the toothake our saviour Jesus Crist Coming by Said unto him wat aileth thee Peeter answered and said Lord my teeth do acke Jesus said unto him Arise & cure them and whosoever Bilevith in me shall be Cured wiam [whom] is the gist [gift] of God and it is he that cures all Distempars and he is the onley docter in whm I trust Amen Amen Amen to be laped round the neck.

"*For A Burn in Child Birth*—Mary maid has burnt her child by the sparkling of the fire out fire in frost in the name of the Father son and Holyghost Amen Amen Amen—to be said 9 times and the Lordes power before & after.

"*For the Ague*—When our Saviour Jesus Christ Saw the Croos where on he was to be Crucified his bowey shakē the Jose said unto him since you have got the Ague Jesus answered and said wosoever beween in me and weren these wordes shall never have the ague nor fever Amen Amen Amen ♦

"to be wore in the Bosom of Shirts"

The following charm is later than the others. It was in pencil on the cover of the manuscript of the Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, who cannot remember the circumstances, but thinks he must have written it down about the year 1875, at the dictation of Mr. Powell, the son of the former, then living at Gellygarn, in the parish of Llanvry, Radnorshire:

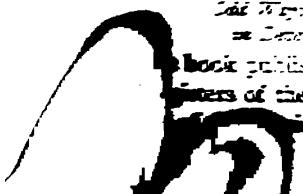
"Garter, a tight knots and a slack one. Tie round bed-post
Put shoes or slippers in front of I under pillow. Don't utter a
word to anyone go into bed backwards. Undress with left
hand. Say

"I do this for to see
Whiv my future wife s to be
Where she s and what she wears."

three times over when tying garter and putting shoes under
pillow."

Compare with the first of the foregoing charms which it is hardly necessary to say is a very common one: the charm of which in the middle of the sixteenth century, evidence was given in the Consistory Court of Exeter. One Margaret Kelland of Littlejohn was charged with "invincing charmynes" to a sick man John Kelland deceased. The evidence was that she "did charm hym with words as followeth: 'Ores evertre dñe. John Bryfe followed forme: froure to froure, strewre to strewre, and bone to bone, and as gyne is grasse, so grasse ys it nowe.'"

*Six Days in Newgate: Being a Day's Work of Information
in Court and Prison.* By Mr. Birmingham, etc. A small
book published under this title is a series of extracts from
the Minutes of the court with running commentaries. The opening
lines of the charm are printed. [E. S. H.]



CHARMING FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

The following notes were taken by me (no leading questions being asked) from an intelligent man who formerly suffered as a lad from King's Evil, and who can clearly remember the events. Having to stop up all night impressed it on his memory. He said :

"At Taunton, in Somersetshire, nearly forty years ago, there was an old man called James Broom, supposed to be 'the seventh son,' who used to charm the people. I was taken to see Mr. Broom on the first three Sundays in May at three o'clock on Sunday morning (that is, at sunrise).* Mr. Broom used to spit on his hand and rub it across the lump and say some charm or prayer. He used to be in very great pain, and groaned a good deal after using the charm. When my father went to pay him he said he must not make any charge or have any money; but my father must make him a present. My father gave him a cheese. There were many other people there, eight or nine at a time, who were charmed for various sores. We used to sit up all night, so as to be ready for the sun-rising. He used the same charm with every one, spitting on the inner border of his hand and wiping the spittle on the affected parts. I had been under a doctor for a long time, and he could not cure me; but I got well within a month after being charmed."

OSCAR W. CLARK, M.B.

Gloucester, March, 1895.

LENTEN CEREMONY AT PYLOS, IN GREECE.

An extract from the diary of Mr. Edward L. Tilton, an American gentleman, forwarded by Mr. Ernest Gardner, Director of the British School of Archæology at Athens, to Mr. J. G. Frazer, and communicated by him with Mr. Tilton's permission.

"*Pylos, Monday, February 25, 1895.*

"This is the first day of the Greek Lent. We strolled up to the mediæval fortress, now a prison, which crowns the hill Hagios Nikolaos. A continuity of monotonous strains lured us onward, and ascending steps inside the walls to the battlemented parapet we finally attained the summit of a tower where was revealed a picturesque sight, to which the unique setting gave an extra charm.

* So he said, though the almanack shows that on the very last day of May the sun does not rise before nine minutes to four.

In the open air at this altitude, overlooking the waters of the harbour and the distant Acropolis of Nestor's old home, surrounded by the grim walls of a once Turkish fortress, was gathered a festive throng : young Greeks of both sexes dancing the *Syrtos* to the rhythmical accompaniment of a drum and a reed instrument played by strolling musicians in native garb. An occasional stop enabled refreshment to be gathered from an adjoining table spread with oranges and *Krasi*, and to change partners or re-form the dancing circle. Several military officers and some elders from the town were present as onlookers or participants as occasion required. We were politely invited to join the revel, and were presented to the chairman of festivities, who proved to be captain of the fortress.

"Evening succeeded with more festivities. After dark we witnessed a curious spectacle, which an intelligent citizen told us symbolized the funeral and cremation of Dionysus, although a peasant gave the more vulgar meaning that it typified the destruction of the man who had eaten all the meat, the consequent lack of which compelled abstinence during Lent.

"We preferred the former explanation and followed to watch the god's obsequies. The effigy of Dionysus with a grotesque mask for face was borne upon a bier, which was immediately preceded by a mock priest with long white beard and wearing the black gown and high hat of the Greek *παπᾶς*. He was surrounded by several other functionaries, while in advance were two torch-bearers. The procession moved slowly along to the same weird notes of drum and pipe which had accompanied the dancers in the afternoon ; but the melancholy strains seemed more fitting for the funeral than they had for the earlier festivities. An occasional halt was made beneath some balcony enabling the fair occupants to contemplate more fully the sad end of the gay god. A final stop was made in the open square of the town, where a circular space was preserved about which the spectators surged, but upon which they could not encroach. In this mystic circle a bonfire was made, and around it the chief priest of the occasion led a wild dance still to the monotonous tune of drum and pipe. When the frenzy was at its height the chief placed tow on the effigy and ignited it ; while this was burning he resumed his mad career, held aloft sizzling powder torches, and tore off his beard to add to the flames."

FOLKLORE ITEMS FROM NORTH INDIAN N. & Q., VOL. IV.

Popular Religion.

144. *Bikundah Fairs—Kulu.* Human sacrifice softened; now goats and sheep are sacrificed, and a man is merely lowered by a rope over a cliff [instead of being thrown over]. How the rope is made. If any one steps across it, another is made; the man is fined one goat, which is sacrificed. The rope is reverenced as a deity. The right of being lowered is confined to one caste; the man chosen is fed free for the year, and receives gifts. Detailed description of the rites. Mock struggle. The man chosen is "considered a god," and worshipped. Five valuable things are put in his mouth, *as at death*; music played as at funeral. A very curious development is that "this year (1894) a goat was lowered instead of a man."

146. *Hoshyapur.* Worship of a saint. The commonest form of worship is by *sleeping on the ground* instead of on a bedstead. [Homer, *Iliad*, xvi. 232-5, gives three lines which are doubtless a traditional invocation: "Zeus, lord of Dodona, Pelasgian, dwelling afar, ruling over stormy Dodona; and round about the Selloi dwell thy interpreters, with unwashen feet, sleeping on the ground." As the Greeks were a cleanly race, and by no means ascetic, these Selloi must have been an ancient priesthood of pre-Greek origin. The practice existed in the fifth century and later; Soph., Tr. 1167; Eur., Frag. 368.]

148. Impending calamity warded off by smearing all large trees with some puddle and putting pig's hair in it.

149. Case of *Traga* in *Kathiawar*. A money-lender lent money to a man, and a Charan named Saiya stood security. As it was not paid, the Charan, with his brother and mother, visited the borrower; he still refused, so the two brothers killed their old mother then and there, and the lintels were sprinkled with her blood; he then wounded the debtor. The debtor, with the guilt of a Charan's death on him, refused food, and soon died. [Case proven in court]. See No 177.

172. *Saharampur: Worship of Sakambari Devi.* Some dull myths. No blood sacrifices are offered to this goddess.

174. Begging grows common in *Arrah* (Bengal), and it is done to appease the wrath of Shiva, for a cause here related. On a certain case of disobedience, Shiva told the people to *beg* 10 pies

In the open air at this :
harbour and the distant Ac
by the grim walls of a
festive throng : young Gr
the rhythmical accompan
played by strolling music
enabled refreshment to b
with oranges and *Krasi*
dancing circle. Several
the town were present
required. We were po
presented to the chairm
of the fortress.

"Evening succeeded
nessed a curious spec
symbolized the funer
peasant gave the mor
tion of the man who
of which compelled :

"We preferred the
god's obsequies. T
for face was borne t
by a mock priest w
gown and high hat
several other func
bearers. The pro
notes of drum and
the afternoon ; bu
for the funeral t
occasional halt w
fair occupants to
god. A final st
where a circular
surged, but upon
circle a bonfire w
occasion led a wi
pipe. When the
the effigy and i
mad career, hel
beard to add to

the house and not good.] *Maternal uncle* to the fore ; also barber, as usual. No high-caste Hindu drinks in his son-in-law's house ; some even refuse to drink from the well of his village.

180. *Punjab Frontier*.—Customs. E.g., women throw wheat upon victorious braves. Wooden effigies, or long stones set up in memory of dead relations ; these are sprinkled with blood of sacrifices offered by their relations in sickness.

181. Kamdesh Priests. Certain *paths* tabooed.

182. Bodies not burned or buried, but put in large boxes on the hillside. Articles put in with them. Funeral dance and feast.

183. *Rajputana*.—Marriage Customs. Coarse chaff at weddings. At *Uddipur*, no women are allowed to enter the town at a marriage.

229. Snake charmers : a legend. They must be initiated.

230. Aboriginal Games. One has an explanatory legend.

231. *Panjab*.—*Dharmasala*. Sale of women : law court convictions. Mourning and birth customs (notes).

232. Young married woman goes unveiled in the quarter of the town wherein stands her mother's house, but veils herself the instant she gets into her husband's quarter.

233. Tiger lore. A man killed by a tiger appears to his kin, bidding them change their names, lest he discover them and kill them too (*Garo* tribe, *Assam*). *Koi* tribe (*Madras*) have special ceremonies at killing a tiger. As soon as it is dead, all scramble for the moustaches, which make the wearer tiger-proof ; carry the body round the temple, and then up the nearest hill. The *Khonds* hold an oath taken upon tiger-skin inviolable. The *Gonds* are divided into clans, each of which have certain sacred animals which they will not eat, though the other clans will eat them. Each village has a man able to charm tigers and make them harmless. The *Canarese* will not speak of the tiger by name. In Bengal, he is called "maternal uncle."

Folk-Tales.

153. *A Golden Horse* is fished out of a river, and kept in the king's stable. Princess asks to see it, after which it refuses food. She and the horse are turned out, and live together in the jungle. He was really son of the lord of the serpents bewitched ; each night he resumes his original shape and goes to bathe. While he is gone, the princess, obedient to a spy of his mother, burns his

horse-body, and he then remains a man. Another spy tells her to ask leave to eat out of his plate ; he refuses. "What caste are you, then ?" she asks. "*Ask no more about my caste,*" says he. She persists ; he then suddenly raises his cobra hood and dives into the water. She follows him, and eventually both return to the world and live happily.

155. *The Pious Raja and his troubles* : a kind of male Griselda In this story a city appears, where the first arrival after the Raja's death is made Raja.

184. *Bali Singh the Idiot (Mirzapur)*.—An amusing tale, including encounters with ghosts, who are browbeaten or literally whacked by the sturdy idiot.

186. *Prince and Fairy Wife*.—Dead resuscitated by changing the positions of two blocks of wood which lay one at each end of the cot.

187. *Four hundred rupees for four pieces of Advice (Mirzapur)*.—Contains familiar incidents : "Potiphar's wife ;" letter of death ; when a king dies without issue, the "garland of victory" is hung round the neck of a royal elephant, which is let loose ; he on whom she hangs the garland is made king.

188. (*Mirzapur*).—This also contains familiar incidents. Advice sold for money and tested ; disguised king ; faithless wife ; princess whose lovers die every night. It is a stupid story.

189. *The Brahmin's Riddle (Mirzapur)*.

217. Brahmin Girl married to a dog. "Beauty and the Beast," who on leaving her finally gives her a stick ; if she wishes to see him, she is to place it in the sea and it will take her to him.

234. *The wicked Stepmother-Queen*.—Four lads start a-travelling together. They find a goat, who in two nights devours two of them. On the third, she is foiled, taking the shape of a lovely girl. A raja comes by and buys the ogress from the lads. On arriving at his palace she schemes the death of the other queens. By pretending that they ate the king's horses, she has their eyes put out, and they are cast into a pit. Each queen bore a child in turn, nine they ate, but not the tenth, who grew up, and got from a huntsman a bow and magic arrow that never missed. He is taken into the service of his father the king, and warned by his mother against the ogress. She saw him, and pretended to be ill, saying that she needed the milk of a tigress to cure her. Hence tasks : (1.) The

lad was sent to get it ; just as he was about to shoot the tigress, he saw she had a thorn in her foot ; he pulled it out, and she gave him some of her milk ; so this plot failed. (2.) Next he is sent to steal the kine of some demons. (3.) She sends him to get the "water of gold," with a letter bidding kill him. As he lay asleep on the way, Adam and Eve were flying over the jungle, and seeing him, substituted a letter which bade the ogress take care of him. In the house of the mother ogress he saw a box full of tempests, one full of rain, and in a parcel the eyes of the ten queens ; also a parrot, *in which lay the life* of the queen-ogress ; "if its leg be broken, her leg will break ; if its wing be broken, her hand will break ; if it be killed, she will die." He carries off all, and the water of gold, keeping off pursuit by aid of the storm and rain from his boxes. He returns home, restores the ten queens' eyes by virtue of the water and fits them in, and before the ogress' face breaks the parrot's legs and wings and then wrings its neck. (The Ed. compares *Wideawake Stories*, 98 ; Jacobs' *Ind. F. T.*, 115 ; and gives other parallels.)

236. Helpful Beasts.*Mixed.*

158. Magic stone for rain-making.
159. Lucky to handle gold on certain days.
160. Tracing the thief: pray over bread, and a bit given all round ; the thief cannot swallow it.
164. A thing which in infancy is touched by the forefinger will die early. Sometimes it is the middle finger.
165. Instances of natives doing worship to Queen Victoria's statue, praying to her for protection and work.
170. Charm for killing an enemy. After saying it 10,000 times certain things are to be offered to Mahábír, including *red lead*. Description of the familiar wax image and other sympathetic magic.
171. To gain their ends, Hindus propitiate ants and fish. As a certain kind of ant is supposed to be Brahmin women, the economical worshipper gets the merit of feeding a whole host of Brahmin women at small cost.
194. Superstitions as to evil spirits and charms. The most malevolent spirits are those of a man who has died without the

proper ceremonies, and not upon the ground ; and of a woman dead within forty days of childbirth.

197. Ointment to give one the power of the Evil Eye.

198. *Benares*: Human sacrifice reported in the papers (to Kali).

201. Marks made on trees to secure protection of the nearest deity.

211. Omens from teething.

213. *Sympathetic Magic*.—“The bamboo dies when it seeds ; hence it is unlucky to children to plant one near a house”

243. Native superstitions about Englishmen (amusing). Vaccinators are searching for an infant, who is to be born with milk-white blood, and to conquer the universe. Over the inscription on a certain bridge offerings of oil-lamps and garlands are common. Others leave a handful of their wares, or at least salute the parapet. Pice are thrown into the water. Every one believes that lives are sacrificed on building a bridge. Wizard sahibs kept by Government to kill those who are found out after dark in the rains. The freemasons use their skulls to play with.

248. *Nagaur*.—A ewe bore a lamb under a tree, and then drove off a marauding wolf. The king thought this a good omen, and built a city there.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.]

SEPTEMBER, 1895.

[No III.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1895.

MR. EDWARD CLODD, President, took the Chair at 7.45 p.m., for the purpose of holding an informal meeting (before the ordinary meeting) for the presentation to Mr. G. Laurence Gomme (late President) of the Testimonial subscribed for by members of the Society.

The President made a few preliminary remarks, and then called upon Mr Henry B. Wheatley, as Chairman of the Testimonial Committee, to present the Testimonial, which consisted of a silver tea and coffee service, with the following inscription upon the tray: "Presented to George Laurence Gomme, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary 1878 to 1885, Director 1886 to 1891, President 1892 to 1894, of the Folk-Lore Society. A mark of personal esteem and in appreciation of his great services to the cause of folklore and of the Folk-Lore Society, which he helped to found. April 24, 1895."

Mr. Wheatley, in addressing Mr. Gomme, said that this inscription faintly described the feelings of the subscribers, who thought it right that his long and untiring services to the Society from its foundation should be publicly recognised, and were glad of an opportunity of expressing their appreciation of that quality of heart by which he had made friends of all with whom he had come in contact. In the name of the subscribers he expressed the fervent hope of all that

Mr. and Mrs. Gomme might live many years to enjoy the use of this service.

Mr. Gomme returned thanks and expressed in feeling terms his pleasure at receiving this handsome testimonial to his labours and to those of his wife, which had been to both of them labours of love.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. Edward Clodd) in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gomme exhibited (1) A stone with a hole through it used for the cure of nightmare, and (2) a worked flint found in an Anglo-Saxon grave, and used as an amulet; both objects having been presented to him by Mr. Lawrence of Wandsworth, and obtained from Wandsworth people.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mr Arthur Dillon and Mrs. Rylands. The resignation of the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer was also announced.

Professor Haddon then delivered a lecture entitled "Photography and Folklore," which was illustrated by fifty lantern slides.

Professor Haddon explained that the object of his exhibition was to show that most of the aspects of folklore were easily illustrated, and thus the facts could be made to appeal to the eye as well as to the ear, and by this means interest might be more generally awakened. He also suggested that amateur photographers, and especially the numerous local photographic societies, should photograph all objects and customs of folklore interest in their neighbourhood, and the Society should make a collection of such photographs. Not only would facts be recorded, but new workers would be pressed into the service of our science.

The following were the slides exhibited:—

Narrators of Folklore: Michael McManus, aged 14 (L. L. Duncan, *F.-L.*, iv. p. 177.)

Living Illustrations of Folklore: Baubi Urquhart, Shetland, the great-great-granddaughter of a seal-woman; Inishmaan women (Proc. R. I. A., 1893, p. 830); Aran boys in petticoats (l.c., p. 826).

Folklore and Dwellings: A Kerry cottage with whitewash round the door and windows to keep away the spirits of recently deceased persons; Interior of an Antrim farm kitchen: "Beside the Fire."

Scenery and Folklore: Lough Bofin (C. R. Browne, P. R. I. A., 1894, p. 360); Boulders at Eararna (P. R. I. A., 1893, p. 818).

Folklore of Trees: Fairy thorn at Holywood, Belfast; St. Sourney's thorn, Aran (P. R. I. A., 1893, p. 830); St. Croghans's sacred Ash, Kenmare River.

Folklore of Wells: Tuber Carna; St. Columb Kill's Well; St. Sourney's font; St. Eany's altar and well; Well of the Four Comely Ones; Contents of the latter well (all in Aranmore, P. R. I. A., 1893, pp. 818-822); Holy well of Tubbernaltha, Sligo; St. Kevin's Well, co. Dublin.

Folklore of Cromleachs, &c.: Diarmud and Grania's bed, Aranmore; Cromleach at Ballymascalon (three stones thrown on top, married within a year); "Kissing Stone," cromlech at Carrowmore, Sligo; Maeshowe, Orkney.

Folklore of Standing Stones: Holed stone, Doagh, co. Antrim (lovers put fingers through hole and plighted their troth); holed stone in Mainistir, Aranmore; holed stone in men's cemetery, Inismurray ("Survey of Ant. remains in Inismurray," Wakeman, 1893, p. 75); holy stone on a standing stone in ancient churchyard at Mevagh, N.W. Donegal.

Folklore of Altars and Crosses: St. Columb Kill's altar and cross, Aranmore; Cloca-breaca, altar and cursing stones, Inismurray (Wakeman, p. 59); Petting stone, Holy I., Northumberland.

Folk Ceremonies: "Band-beggars," co. Leitrim (L. L. Duncan,

F.-L., 1894, p. 188); Wedding straw-mask, co. Mayo (*F.-L.*, 1893, p. 123; " *Illust. Archæologist*," i. 1893, p. 205); Christmas Rhymers in Belfast.

Children's Games: "Lords of Spain"; "Green Gravel"; "Round about the Punch-bowl"; co. Down (Clara M. Patterson, *Belfast Nat. Field Club Ann. Rept.*, 1893-94, p. 48; Mrs. Gomme's *Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 1894, p. 170).

Miscellaneous Folklore Objects: Straw-crosses for protection and good-luck, co. Donegal (W. H. Patterson, *Illust. Arch.*, ii., 1894, p. 103). The following slides illustrate Dr. MacLagan's donation to the Society (*ante*, pp. 144, *seqq.*); Toothache and Love charms; Dream charms; Divining bones; Corn-maidens; Divination by tying knots; Evil-eye charm; Corpchre.

At the conclusion of Professor Haddon's lecture a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15th, 1895.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. Edward Clodd) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the resignation of Mr. J. Campbell were announced.

The following books presented to the Society since the last meeting were laid upon the table, viz.: *Tales of the Punjab* (Mrs. F. A. Steel), presented by Mr. E. S. Hartland; *The Saga of King Olaf Tryggwason* (J. Sephton), presented by the Author; *Cornell Studies of Classical Philology* (Alice Walton, Ph.D.), presented by the Cornell University; *The Childhood of Religions*, and *Myths and Dreams* (Edward Clodd), presented by the Author; and



The Mālavikāgnimitra, translated by C. H. Tawney, presented by Miss Godden.

Two notes on "Ashey Pelt," and "The Three Golden Balls" (*infra*, p. 305), communicated by Mrs. Damant, of Cowes, were read.

Mr. C. J. Billson read a paper on "Finnish Folk Songs," and a discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. Nutt, Sir John Evans, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Kirby, The Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. Gomme took part.

The President also read a paper by Miss Godden, entitled "The Sacred Marriage" (*infra*), upon which the Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. Nutt offered some observations.

THE SACRED MARRIAGE.

BY MISS GERTRUDE M. GODDEN.

I VENTURED to call attention, in a recent number of *Folk-Lore* (vol. iv. p. 142), to a group of legends and customs which appeared to be the common property of early Greeks and modern peasants; to be widely diffused; and to stand in connection with rites and observances touching very closely the life of primitive peoples.

Since then further evidence has reached me of interest sufficient to bear a brief summary and comment.

It may be well to recall the old Greek myth and ritual of the Dædala, as a type of the group in question. Plutarch¹ tells how Zeus and Hera quarrelled, and Zeus wandered, till taught to deceive her by simulating another marriage. "He adorned an oak-tree like a bride, shaped it, and called it Dædala. Then they sang the bridal hymn and brought lustral water." Hera discovered the trick, was reconciled

¹ Plutarch, *Fragments*, ix. 6.

with tears and laughter to Zeus, and herself led the bridal procession. The image of Dædala she burnt.

So much for the Greek legend. Pausanias and Plutarch¹ describe the rites of the Dædala festivals. Images were made from oracularly chosen oak-trees, growing in a special oak coppice, and were called Dædala. At the festivals of the Lesser Dædala, celebrated every few years, these images were dressed as a bride, put on a bullock-cart with a bridesmaid placed beside, and seemingly drawn to the banks of the River Asōpos and back to the town, attended by a piping and dancing crowd. They were preserved till the Great Dædala, held once in sixty years. At the celebration of this festival the Lesser Dædala images were taken in procession to the Asōpos, and thence to the summit of Mount Cithærōn. Here they were burnt, together with victims and sacrifices, and the great altar prepared for them.²

The "false bride" of Greek legend was in Greek festival rite an oak-tree, chosen by oracle out of a special grove, shaped, adorned as a bride, and then drawn in bridal procession, a bridesmaid placed beside it. Bearing this oak-bride in mind, let us turn to a Sanscrit play, written probably about a century after the date of Pausanias.

The *Málavikāgnimitra*³ is a brilliant picture of the life of a native court, apparently before the Mahomedan invasion, when Brahmanism and Buddhism were both powerful religions in India. I must not linger here over the literary and artistic fascination of this antique drama. The scent and

¹ Pausanias, ix. 3 ; Plutarch ap Eusebius, *Prepar. Evang.*, iii. 1, *sq.* See *Golden Bough*, J. G. Frazer, vol. i. p. 102.

² The legend of a false bride temporarily supplanting a true one has already been shown to be common in European folklore. (*Folk-Lore, loc. cit.*) It may prove to belong to the cycle of primitive ideas and usages which centre round the great seasons of the primitive year. But it is not this side of the subject that I wish to consider here.

³ *The Málavikāgnimitra*, translated by C. H. Tawney, M.A., 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1891.

warmth of the East is in its pages, and one stands in the stately presence of a court which moves to the rhythm of the *Arabian Nights*. The great king Agnimitra is fascinated by a beautiful maiden in the queen's service, Málaviká. By the aid of a Brahman, the king's favourite and friend, he sees her dance. The device by which this is accomplished, the opposition of the queen, and the appearance of the maiden and her teacher, occupy Acts I. and II. The third Act opens by a conversation with "the keeper of the pleasure-garden," who departs to give the queen information about a golden açoka-tree, "which is delaying to burst into blossom because it waits to be touched by the foot of a beautiful woman."¹ The queen commands Málaviká, saying, "My feet hurt me terribly as I have had a fall from a swing . . . do thou therefore perform the ceremony of fertilising the golden açoka-tree; if in five nights from this time it displays flowers I will bestow on thee a boon which will gratify thy desires." The time of the action of this part of the play is definitely marked as the spring. Málaviká comes to the tree, and a friend paints her feet with lac; then she, "having made an ear ornament of açoka buds, in a playful manner puts forth her foot to strike the tree."² Meanwhile the king arrives with a friend and watches in secret, saying, "Observe, my friend! Having taken from the açoka-tree a shoot for her ear, she presents to it her foot; the two have exchanged similar gifts." Mr. Tawney notes on the word similar, "both Málaviká's foot and the shoot of the açoka being red."³ The king speaks of the striking of the tree as "the ceremony of the *dohada*." In Act IV. the queen has thrown Málaviká, fettered, into "the infernal regions," with orders that she is not to be released without warrant of the queen's seal-ring. By a ruse, this

¹ Mr. Tawney notes: "This fancy is perpetually recurring in Sanscrit poetry," p. 35, note 3.

² *Ibid.* Stage Direction, p. 49.

³ P. 49, note 1.

ring, "with a snake on the stone," is obtained, and the maiden is set free. At the end of the act a voice exclaims behind the scenes, "Wonderful! Wonderful! Before the five nights have elapsed from the time of the ceremony the golden açoka is covered all over with buds." Act V. opens with a speech of the "female keeper of the garden," "I have erected a verandah covered with a roof round the golden açoka-tree." An alternative reading is here noted, meaning an altar or ground prepared for sacrificial ceremonies. Later in the act the queen sends to inform the king "that I desire to behold in his company the splendour of the flowering of the açoka-tree;" or, by another reading, to honour the açoka-tree. The final movement of the play is gathered round the golden tree. Beneath it Málaviká, in wedding attire, and the queen are discovered. The king meets them. As one reads the scene, with the setting of the pleasure grove, and the retinue of courtiers, officers of state, and attendants of the harems, it is impossible not to praise the magnificent staging of this Sanscrit play. Two strange maidens are introduced who discover in Málaviká a princess in disguise, sent to form one of the king's harem, captured by a hostile king on her way, and after various adventures admitted to the queen's service as a slave. A lady of the court who knew her, on being reproved for not disclosing her noble birth, says, "This lady was told by a certain infallible divine person who had assumed mortal form that she would have to endure for one year only the position of a slave, and would then obtain a husband of equal rank." After further plot developments, the queen, having previously obtained the consent of her consort in the harem, the queen Iraváti, and evidently in pursuance of her promise made when commanding Málaviká to perform the Dohada ceremony, presents the maiden as a bride to the king, investing her with a veil . . . according her the title of queen.

In this brief abstract the literary value of the play is of

course entirely put aside. Much of the plot has been omitted, and I have merely attempted to detach the scientific interest.

Mr. Tawney writes to me that in this ceremony of touching the açoka (or mango), tree "Málaviká is clearly adorned as a bride," and he kindly allows me to express his belief that she was originally married to an açoka-tree.

The Greek myth gives us an oak-bride with whom Zeus celebrated a marriage ceremony. The Sanscrit play seems to give us a tree-bridegroom to whom the heroine of the story is wedded.

Is there any organic connection in these counterparts, or are they merely the similar fancies of ancient story-tellers? I think such a connection does probably exist, and may be seen in living practice in the tree-marriages of the wild tribes of Northern India. The following examples of this primitive rite are taken from Mr. Risley's work on *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*¹ issued by the Bengal Government, and prepared with exhaustive care and labour.

Among the Baghdis, Mr. Risley says, the bridegroom goes through a mock marriage to a mahwá-tree. He embraces the tree and daubs it with vermillion, his right wrist is bound to it with a thread, and a bunch of the leaves is attached by the thread to his wrist.²

Among the Kurmis, "Early on the wedding morning the betrothed pair, each in their own homes, are separately married to trees, the bride to a mahwá (*Bassia latifolia*), and the bridegroom to a mango (*Mangifera Indica*). This curious rite merits a full description. Wearing on the right wrist a bracelet of the leaves of the mahwá, the bride walks round the tree seven times, and then sits on her mother's lap on the eastern platform built close to the trunk. While sitting in this position her right hand and right ear are tied

¹ *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risley; vols. i. and ii. *Ethnographic Glossary*; vols i. and ii. *Anthropometric Data*.

² *Ibid. Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. i. p. 39.

to the tree by her elder sister's husband or some male member of the household, and she is made to chew mahwá leaves, which are afterwards eaten by her mother. Last of all, lights are lit round the tree, which is solemnly worshipped by all present. The same ritual is separately performed by the bridegroom with this difference, that in his case the tree is a mango, and that it is circled nine times instead of seven."¹

I refrain from dwelling on the details of this ceremony, with their suggestion of rites ratifying the kinship between the divine tree and the tribesman and tribeswoman, and of a period when the lunar instead of the solar calendar prevailed.² The mere fact of tree-marriage is all that I wish to note at present.

Among the Santals³ bride and bridegroom perform the ceremony of marriage to a mahwá-tree, the left foot and left ear being tied to the tree by blades of grass and thread. Smearing with vermillion is apparently a special portion of the rite, and is called Sindúrdan.

The Bhuiyas and Rautias marry both parties to the mango-tree.⁴ The Santal double marriage to the mahwá and mango-trees was, till recently, practised by the Mundas of Chota Nagpore.⁵

These instances may perhaps suffice to show that the rite is prevalent in Bengal. Mr. Crooke, the editor of the *North Indian Notes and Queries*, writes to me that a good deal of the Indian evidence on the subject of tree-marriages is collected in his work, published by the Government of the North-West Provinces.⁶

¹ *Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. i. p. 531.

² See J. F. Hewitt, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1893, pp. 263, 264. Mr. Hewitt comments on the hints here contained of a matriarchate.

³ *Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 229.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 136, 475; vol. ii. p. 201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 102.

⁶ *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, William Crooke, Allahabad, 1894.

Possibly a European survival of the ususage may be traced in the modern Greek wedding song in which the bridegroom is addressed as a "tree."¹ It may appear in a Servian custom quoted by Mr. J. G. Frazer in his *Totemism*:—"The bride is led to an apple-tree the bride's veil is taken from her and fastened to the tree. . . . A dance three times round the tree concludes the ceremony."²

We found in Greek ritual and myth a sacred marriage celebrated between a god and an oak-tree bride, as a preliminary to the return of his own divine consort. The question of what Greek gods this rite originally belonged to before the late Olympian coupling of Zeus and Hera cannot be here discussed. In a Sanscrit play we found the dramatic action centring round a mystical golden tree to whom a maiden must be wedded before she can become the wife of the king, the hero of the drama. In the wild tribes of Northern India, tribes who are supposed to have inhabited that district before the Aryan invasion, and therefore may be taken as instances of very primitive societies, we find that the tribal marriage ceremony necessitates the previous marriage of bride and bridegroom to trees. Finally, so tenacious is the power of ritual, a trace of the prehistoric savage life seems to have come down to us in the present wedding songs of Greek peasants.

Is it possible to avoid the conclusion that the marriage ceremonies of the primitive tribes were employed in their sacred rituals, when the rite of the marriage of the god was celebrated ; and that in the Dædala we have the Greek religious survival of the tribal worship, and in the Málavikágnimitra its reflection in Sanscrit literature ?

I would compare the treatment of the ancient rite in this play to the use Greek artists made of current Greek legend. The Sanscrit poet takes the old stock ideas, and uses them

¹ *Women of Turkey*, L. M. Garnett, i. p. 83.

² *Totemism*, J. G. Frazer, p. 34.

as the clay out of which he constructs his brilliant court drama, colouring and moulding the original crude material almost out of recognition, but not quite.

Before leaving the Indian evidence I should like to acknowledge my debt to Mr. H. H. Risley for his suggestion of tree-marriages as a possible solution of the Dædala; and to Mr. C. H. Tawney for introducing to me the Málavikágnimitra, and for many valuable notes on the subject.

In my former paper the common European wedding custom of substituting another girl for the bride, or disguising the true bride, was cited as a possible explanation of the Dædala and Grozdanka stories. I should not now lay much stress on this custom as likely to afford a complete clue to the Dædala rites. That there is some mingling of the usage and the many legends of false brides, from Dædala to Grozdanka, seems probable. But what the connection is, and what relation it may have to the intention of the Sacred Marriage, are questions at present unsolved.

The suggestion that early marriage rites are the origin of various features of these stories is strengthened by an instance which I owe to the kindness of Miss L. M. Garnett. Speaking of the "dumbness" which is a feature of the "false bride" legends, she refers me to the Eastern marriage usage still in practice among Osmanlis of all ranks, of refusal on the part of the bride to speak to the bridegroom till he overcomes her reluctance.¹ Miss Garnett tells me that many folktales turn entirely on this usage. In this connection it is of much interest to note that a false bride forms part of the Hindoo marriage ceremony, in which, according to Haas, there is "mystification" of the bridegroom by the substitution of another woman.²

The question of the Sacred Marriage as a part of the wor-

¹ See *Women of Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 488.

² Haas, *Indische Studien*, v.



ship of those primitive Year-Gods, whose Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumn festivals seem so largely dominant in primitive religion, I will only touch on here. There is much evidence that such a marrying of the god in the spring was a prevalent early rite. If, as was previously suggested, Dædala was a "May Bride," wedded in the spring after her wintry subjection was over,¹ that would in no way cross the present argument, which is that whenever the sacred wedding was performed, and with whatever religious idea, the *ritual* was consonant with the marriage customs of the tribe.² It is the part played by the secular usage of early peoples in their religious rites that I wish to emphasise here—the enduring vitality of ritual habit, and the light which primitive social usage throws on the later forms of ritual and myth.

When we know more of the life-history of legends and ceremonies, we shall be less prone to see in them the result of solar myths and sympathetic magic.³ The growth and continuity of myth and ritual is a complex thing, perplexed by many stages of thought, and by the action of laws of which we seem as yet almost entirely ignorant. To get,

¹ Miss Garnett tells me that in a Cappadocian folksong the discarded wife announces that she will be reunited to her husband at the return of spring; and she traces the "supplanting of a true bride by a wintry power" in an Epirote variant to be found on p. 125 of her *Greek Folk-Songs*. My own knowledge of folk-poetry and its formation will not allow me to weigh this evidence.

² I feel sure that temple or tribal ritual so celebrated only awaits excavation. May not some readers of *Folk-Lore* be able to supply the missing facts?

³ See Mr. Frazer's conjectures on the Dædala, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 100, *sqq.* In Mr. Frazer's *Totemism*, published some years before his *Golden Bough*, he notes the distinct appearance of tree-marriage in the Dædala, and treats the ceremony as seemingly totemistic. Without discussing totemism, I may briefly say that Mr. Frazer's earlier view of the Dædala appears to accord in some measure with that put forward in this paper, and to be at variance with his later views published in the *Golden Bough*. Mr. Frazer cites the interesting Servian custom quoted above; Bengal tree-marriages; and a quaint possible survival in Lorraine, in which two cabbages take part. (*Totemism*, p. 34.)

whenever possible, a little nearer the life lived by primitive men, seen in the light of their own surroundings, and not in the twilight of modern theory, is perhaps at present the safest method that we can follow.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19th, 1895.

MR. G. L. GOMME (Vice-President) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced,
viz.: Dr. Oscar W. Clark, Th. Wohlleben, and the India Office
Library.

Mr. E. S. Hartland exhibited a ring engraved with the turtle emblem, once worn as a talisman by the American Indian chief Kee-wan-kuk, sent to the exhibitor by Miss Mary Owen. Miss M. Roalfe Cox exhibited a fetish from the Solomon Islands (Rubiana Group), formerly lashed to the prow of a canoe. The exhibitor stated that a fetish of precisely the same prognathous type, with the inlaid shell eyes, was to be seen lashed to a canoe in the British Museum; and that there was a striking family likeness between all the fetishes representing human figures from the Solomon Islands; but she drew attention to the fact that the islanders themselves have round skulls, and are not in the least prognathous.

The following books presented to the Society since the last meeting were laid on the table, viz.: *Contributions to a Catalogue of Works, Reports, and Papers on the Anthropology, Ethnology, and Geological History of the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines* (R. Etheridge, Jun.), and *Records of the Geological Survey of New South Wales*, vol. i. part i. 1889, vol. ii. part ii. 1890, part iv. 1892,

vol. iii. part iii. 1893, and vol. iv. part ii. 1894, all presented by the Department of Mines, Sydney, New South Wales; *Revue des Traditions populaires*, May, 1895, presented by the Société; *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society*, No. 10, presented by Mr. W. F. Kirby; *Holiday Customs in Malta* (V. Busuttil), presented by the Author, through Mr. Hartland; *Corean Popular Literature* (*Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan*, xviii. part i.) (W. G. Aston, C.M.G.), presented by the Author; *English Fairy and other Folk Tales*, edited by E. S. Hartland, presented by the Editor; *The Science of Fairy Tales* (E. S. Hartland), presented by the Author; *Sagen, Märchen, Schwänke und Gebräuche aus Hildesheim* (Karl Seifart), presented by Mr. Hartland.

Mr. Lang read a paper entitled the "Protest of a Psycho-Folklorist," being a criticism of the President's Address, to which the President read a reply (*infra*, pp. 236, 248), and a discussion ensued, in which Mr. Edward Maitland, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Higgens, Mr. Vaughan Cornish, Mr. J. M. Wheeler, and Mr. Gomme took part.

Mr. Lang exhibited in illustration of his paper the following objects, viz.: (1) A Photograph of Fire-walking in Fiji,¹ and (2) A Handkerchief laid on a stone from the oven as the men entered the furnace.

Mr. J. E. Crombie then read a paper entitled "Shoe-throwing at Weddings" (*infra*, p. 258).

A note on the Hobby Horse at Minehead, by Mrs. Chaworth Musters; a paper on Hop Scotch as played in Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, by Mr. H. F. Feilberg; and a paper entitled "Donald Bán and the Bócan," by Mr. W. A. Craigie, were also read.

¹ By the kindness of Mr. Basil H. Thomson we are enabled to reproduce a careful drawing made for the purpose under his supervision from this photograph. See Plate V., p. 246.

PROTEST OF A PSYCHO-FOLKLORIST.

BY ANDREW LANG, M.A.

LET me apologise for the word Psycho-Folklorist! But as the only member of the sect thus named, as a member with no "society," a being more isolated even than Davie Deans, I would mildly protest against our President's remarks on the Psychical Society, published in his printed address (*Folk-Lore*, March, 1895, pp. 78-81). Mr. Clodd asks us to condemn the "superstitions" of Dr. Alfred Wallace, Mr. Crookes, Professor Lodge, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and of all the eminent men of science, British and foreign, who support psychical research by their investigations, or, at least, by their subscriptions and adhesion. Mr. Clodd explains the fact that some of these men of science, having examined, for example, the performances of Eusapia Paladino, fail, so far, to detect their method and cause, by saying that "scientific specialists can be wholly untrustworthy observers outside their own domain." Very probably; but who, in this domain, is to be the observer? The men of science, British or foreign, are at a loss. The obvious plan is to try professional experts in conjuring, like Mr. Maskelyne, and I have reason to hope that this gentleman (whose logical fairness of mind rivals his ingenuity) may yield his assistance. Suppose, for argument's sake, that *he* is also puzzled; to what possible kind of observer would Mr. Clodd have recourse? Would he say, "To nobody, the whole affair is nonsense"? If so, I fail to agree with him.

A performance—or, if you please, a series of occurrences—which neither a crowd of men of science nor an expert in conjuring could account for, would, I think, be a phenomenon worthy of examination. But Mr. Clodd

remarks that (granting, for argument's sake, the genuineness of the phenomena) "much could be said about the absence of any contributions of the slightest value by them to our knowledge of a spirit-world." But who is talking here of a "spirit-world?" Certainly not Mr. Oliver Lodge. He is talking only of phenomena, and of physical phenomena. These, surely, come within the "sphere of influence" of physical science! Mr. Clodd seems to mean that we are not to investigate physical phenomena unless they contribute matter of value to our knowledge of the "spirit-world." Of course he cannot really mean that! Every province of the Psychical Society's labour appears to be regarded by Mr. Clodd as vitiated by "the old animism" in disguise, and therefore as nonsense and superstition. For example, he sneers at the practice of looking into glass balls. Now what has "the old animism" to do with the provocation of hallucinations by dint of looking at a glass ball? Just this much: The old animists, savages, and our forefathers generally, were or are acquainted with analogous practices. They, being animists, explained the hallucinations by a theory of "spirits." It does not follow that the hallucinations do not, in some cases, actually occur, any more than it follows that there is no thunder, because thunder used to be explained by the action of a "spirit" armed with a mace. That many persons are so constituted as to see hallucinations in glass balls I cannot possibly doubt, without branding some of my most intimate and least superstitious friends as habitual liars. I see nothing odd in a glass ball, but if I give my friends the lie, then I act as the dreamless Irish king would have done, had he called all men liars who averred that they could dream. Granting, then, that such hallucinations exist, why on earth should they not be studied like any other mental phenomenon? Is it because you can buy a ball for three shillings? Is it because savages explained the facts as they explained almost all facts? Or why is it?

Mr. Clodd may, of course, remark, "The facts are not to be examined because they are not facts at all: nobody is ever hallucinated, by staring at a glass ball, a vessel of water, a drop of blood, or of ink." He seems to me to be nearly as sceptical as his own "doubting Thomas's" were about the flints in the Somme Valley. But unlike M. Boucher des Perthes, I can't show him the flints *in situ*, I cannot enable him to see hallucinations in a glass ball. To be able to see them is an individual peculiarity, like having "hypnagogic illusions." If Mr. Clodd has these, he believes in their existence. Even if he has not, he probably believes, because so very many people do have them. The bulk and weight of the evidence, I cannot doubt, convince him as to hypnagogic illusions. Now glass ball visions appear to be similar illusions, but much rarer, and capable of being seen in the waking condition. To every one who thinks of it, the existence or non-existence of such subjective pictures must be matter of evidence. I have enough to satisfy myself, and perhaps, if Mr. Clodd had as much, he would be satisfied also. Therefore, to me it seems that the topic may be made the subject of experiment and study. Where does "the old animism" come in here?

No: the folklorist, almost all the topics of the S. P. R. have their interest. The anthropologist, the folklorist, meets this practice and belief of "scrying" in all ages, and among men of every grade of culture. It is now in the hands of men of medicine men, and what is its origin? For my part, I believe its origin to be the fact that some persons are hallucinated in the given circumstances. What is Mr. Clodd's explanation? Here we are, at least, on the common ground of folklore. If Mr. Clodd explains all by "disordered liver," then a disordered liver is the origin of a piece of knowledge.

Take "table-turning." That, also, the explanations of "the old ani-

mism." But it does not follow that tables are not moved in a manner which testifies (let us say) to the strange amount of muscular energy which may be unconsciously expended and unconsciously directed. The phenomenon, in that case, of unconscious muscular action deserves study, and here at least I have Dr. Carpenter on my side. Here too we are in full folklore, and Mr. Clodd may compare, among many similar sources, Dr. Codrington's account of native Melanesian experiments with modern table-turning. Let us suppose (for the sake of argument) that neither physicists nor conjurers can explain Eusapia's performances. Certainly not I, and, I imagine, not Mr. Lodge, nor M. Richet, nor any of the Continental *savants* who are at present in a quandary, will leap to an animistic explanation. But, as a veteran folklorist, I would say, "Whatever causes these Eusapian phenomena, probably caused some of the innumerable similar phenomena of which all folklore is full." I don't care what the cause is, from sleight of hand to the action of demons, I only say, the same cause was probably active at Tedworth, at Epworth, at Rerrick, at Spraiton, in the cases recorded in witch trials, and so forth.

What is Mr. Clodd's explanation of these narratives, savage or civilised? If he denies that there were ever any of these *physical* phenomena, is their invention a necessary myth? Does it arise from a disease of language? Aetiological it cannot be, for it is not an explanation, but a statement of facts, of which the animistic explanation was given, as usual. Was all done by trickery? If so, how? In Eusapia's case, by examination we might find out. Thus, to myself, as a folklorist, Eusapia (and Home too) are vastly interesting. They could *do the trick* (whatever it is) which underlies a long chapter of folklore. Now, if Mr. Lodge, or M. Ochorowicz, or Professor Sidgwick, or Mr. Maskelyne (on whom I more rely) can find out that trick, he will have done service to folklorists. I am well aware that many tricks have been discovered, but these

do not cover the facts as alleged in folklore, or as alleged by Mr. Lodge, and many other men of science.

Take another even more extreme example, the folklore of levitation. Some man or woman is seen by witnesses, who often give evidence on oath, to rise in the air and stay therein. I have elsewhere shown that this story is as widely distributed as any *Märchen*.

Then comes D. D. Home, and professes to do the trick. What an opportunity for a folklorist ! One can imagine a President of the Folk-Lore Society rushing eagerly to examine Mr. Home, and to explain, at once and for ever, the origin of this chapter in folklore. For (if he is lucky enough to find Mr. Home in form) either he will expose the trick, or he will, at least, be able to say, "certainly some men can make on our senses the impression which is the cause of the world-wide tale of levitation." Well, the Folk-Lore Society is too young; in Home's day we had no Folk-Lore Society. But Mr. Crookes, a distinguished man of science, acted as a good folklorist. He went to see Mr. Home. I have rarely been more curiously impressed than when I heard Mr. Crookes very gravely aver that he had seen Mr. Home rise in air, in full light, in a drawing room, had felt all round his body, and had discovered no material supports. Here was a gentleman whose word science accepts to a millimetre for accuracy of observation, yet he tells us this ! And he is only one out of dozens.

"Here," I said to myself, "is the explanation of the large folklorist and hagiological chapters about levitation. What was good enough for Mr. Crookes was good enough for Australian blacks, Presbyterians, Celts, Platonists, Peruvians, Catholics, Puritan divines, and all the other witnesses. They, or some of them, had received the impression which Mr. Crookes received ; hence the stories."

What is Mr. Clodd's explanation ?

Pray observe that "old animism" has no place in my



mind here. I deal with an impression of a physical phenomenon, an impression which, as can be proved, is deeply printed on the folklore of the whole world. As to how that impression was made on Mr. Crookes's senses I have not even a guess, but I believe firmly that it *was* made, and that similar impressions account for the folklore of our stories from witnesses of levitation. Therefore I, for one, applaud Mr. E. B. Tylor, as a folklorist, for having, like Mr. Lodge, attended *séances*. I call him not "superstitious," but "scientific," and, if nothing occurred, that does not make him more scientific or less superstitious. Mr. Darwin's own mind was open on the matter. He said that it would take a great deal of evidence to convince him; he did not say that he would decline to look at evidence altogether.

It may be asked, "Why don't I go to see Eusapia myself?" I answer, "Because I am a very inexact observer, or rather, because I do not observe at all, and therefore my evidence would be of value neither to myself nor to the public."

Again, I presume that Mr. Clodd does not deny the possibility of inducing artificial slumber without the use of drugs, and of making suggestions which have the force of reality to the patient? If he denies it, if he says with Lord Kelvin that hypnotism is all imposture and malobservation, I am silenced, except from bad words. But if he cannot carry scepticism to that pitch, then I think that the facts, as far as he admits them, account for much that occurs in folklore, namely for tales of "glamour," and for the behaviour of the so-called "bewitched" patients. Thus folklore and psychical research are again on common ground. Yet where comes in "the old animism"? Or will Mr. Clodd say, "There is nothing at all in hypnotism, nothing at all in the evidence of Mr. Crookes, except survival from the mental condition of savagery. Mr. Crookes, under that inherited stress, deceived himself, and thought he saw what he did not see. The countless French, Ger-

man and Italian servants who write on hypnotism are all in the same condition, all slaves of hereditary instincts, and *victims of the survival of the unfittest ideas.*" It would be nice that the least "fit" of all ideas should "survive" with such vigour!

Conceivably, though not probably, Mr. Clodd may explain, at least, Mr. Crookes's view of the floating Home in this way. Let it be so, is it not worth while to examine a survival, or inherited capacity, which can make a sane man in science tell such a tale, and be "in a tale" with savages and priests. I can imagine few studies more useful both to psychology and folklore, psychology dealing with the individual patient, folklore with the symptoms as exhibited by the race. Our business is to examine myths and the mythopoeic faculty. Here, to our President's mind, is Mr. Crookes's inherited mythopoeic faculty flaring up in the most astonishing of myths, and that a myth of universal diffusion. Surely this deserves study!

If I do not misjudge Mr. Clodd, his real or chief objection to psychical research is that all its followers, with different "degrees of certainty," believe "in the validity of phenomena purporting to be 'caused by spiritual beings, together with the belief thence arising of the community of the living and the so-called dead.'" The words in italics Mr. Clodd quotes from Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, whose writings on the subject seem, to myself, to be very far from critical or judicious. One may be a psycho-folklorist without accepting, or heeding, what phenomena may "purport" to be. Never mind what they "purport" to be, that is, never mind attending to the old animistic explanation of them. The question for the psycho-folklorist is "Are there such phenomena? If so, do they throw light on the problems of folklore?"

In my opinion there are such phenomena. What Mr. ~~lodge~~ witnessed was a set of phenomena, how caused is ~~not~~ the present, or folklore question. To the folklorist

this is the point: the trick can be done so as to puzzle dozens of modern sceptical *savants*. Much more, then, must it have puzzled our unscientific ancestors. Similar tricks, then, or similar phenomena similarly produced, were at the bottom of the Epworth, Tedworth, Rerrick, Spraiton, and a thousand other events in folklore. Indeed, in my opinion, we shall not understand great masses of folklore till psychical research has swept out a dozen of obscure corners in the edifice of human faculty. The S. P. R. asks for phenomena on good evidence. It passes no judgment (as a rule and as a Society) on what they "purport" to be. They may be turnip heads hollowed and accommodated with a candle. In this protest is there a word of "old animism"? I am not, alas, omniscient. I do not *know* that poor old animism has absolutely nothing to say for itself; nor is even Mr. Clodd really omniscient and infallible. But I am arguing that folklore and psychical research have much common ground, and if the S. P. R. can learn nothing from the F. L. S., perhaps the F. L. S. may pick something useful out of the "bye-products" of the S. P. R. If the researchers are only survivals, what else but survivals do we study? Let me put a case to Mr. Clodd. If we meet rustics who are treasures of traditional beliefs and observances, we do not discourage or laugh at, but cherish and fondly observe, them. They are survivals! In the same way, taking Mr. Lodge, F.R.S., the learned Professor Sidgwick, the poetic Mr. Myers, the healing genius of M. Richet as (on this ground) mere survivals of old animistic philosophy, why should we discourage *them*? If the censures of our President smote the conscience of these worthy but retrograde physicists, physicians, and so on, if they ceased to carry on what Mr. Clodd thinks their foolish old business, I deem that we should be depriving ourselves of raw material.

Perhaps the conductors of *Folk-Lore* do not agree with Mr. Clodd. In the December number they publish an

article on "Ghostly Lights," by Mr. M. J. Walhouse. Now ghostly lights have very naturally been studied by our friends—my friends, at least—of the S. P. R. Thus we and they are on common ground: each society can add to the information of the other.

There is, I admit, and I regret it, a difference of method. Our method is to run on thus: "The Irish say, the Welsh say, the Burmese say, the Shanars say, the Negroes say, that there are such and such phenomena;" and there we leave it, with a remark on will-o'-the-wisps or on fireflies.

The S. P. R., on the other hand, works thus: "The Rev. W. Brown, and Miss Laetitia Sparks, and Colonel Macpherson, and a lady who declines to give her name for publication, allege that they have seen such and such phenomena," analogous to those reported by our peasants and savages, and by Plato and so on. The S. P. R. then cross-examines these witnesses, rejects some, accepts others, and there *it* leaves it. The F. L. S. reviles the S. P. R.'s ghostly lights, and the S. P. R. never dreams of comparing the F. L. S.'s "non-evidential" ghostly lights, with its own authentic phenomena.

Then comes the psycho-folklorist, namely the present humble philosopher. Then I find that what the people of Thuringia or the Irish report concerning *a hand carrying a light* is also reported by Dr. Spears, and other friends of the late clerical medium, the Rev. Stainton Moses. They saw the same phenomenon in their own drawing-room. Both societies neglect the obvious *rapprochement*, which must have *some* meaning if we could interpret it. Thus, is there a common form of hallucination, or did Mr. Moses fake up a hand and a light, following consciously the folklore model? Or did he repeat a traditional form of imposture? Or did the eye-witnesses plagiarise from folklore? Or is Mr. Clodd's explanation correct? Did a "dominant idea"—in Dr. Spears—"suspend and narcotise

the reason and judgment, and contribute to the rise and spread of another of the epidemic delusions of which history supplies warning examples?"

If Mr. Clodd's view be correct, with what gratitude should we thank the S. P. R. for providing us with nascent epidemic delusions *in situ*, as it were, so that we may compare these with similar delusions in history.

Here I offer an example: is it folklore, or is it in the province of physical research, or of natural history, or of all three? It occurs in a letter from a correspondent: the rest of the epistle is concerned with Indian conjuring performers.

"There is also a little bit of folklore which may interest you and on which I should be glad to be more fully informed, but no one as yet has been able to help me. I was staying on a tea-garden near Darjiling last year, and one evening as we were walking round the flower-garden (which is part of a small piece of ground on which the bungalow stands, and which is surrounded on three sides by a steep mound) our eyes were caught by a light like that of a lantern being carried down the path which leads to the vegetable garden some 200 feet below. My host sent for the "Mahli," who came down from his house, which is on the fourth side where the hill rises about the bungalow, and asked him what business anyone had to be going to the vegetable garden at that time? "Oh;" said the man, "that is one of the 'chota admis'" (*i.e.* little men); and on being asked to explain, he said that these little men lived underground, and only came out at night. He did not appear to be very clear as to what their occupation was, but they always walk or fly about with lanterns. They are about three feet high, and they will never allow anyone to get near them; but if by any chance one was to come upon them unexpectedly, they would quickly disappear, and the person who saw them would soon become ill and probably die. They are constantly about on dark nights, sometimes as many as twenty or thirty together, but he and all other

natives always gave them a wide berth. Whilst he was speaking we watched the light, which apparently left the path, and in two or three minutes flew across to another portion of the hill, between which and the vegetable garden was a steep dip which would take an ordinary individual at least half an hour to descend and ascend the other side ; then it disappeared, and we saw no more that night, but two or three times afterwards we saw similar lights, sometimes carried along the paths and at others flying across the dips in the hills. We made enquiries from the natives, who all told the same tale ; but when we asked other planters they could tell us nothing about them. The light was too large and not erratic enough for any firefly that we had seen in that neighbourhood, more like a lantern than anything else that we could think of."

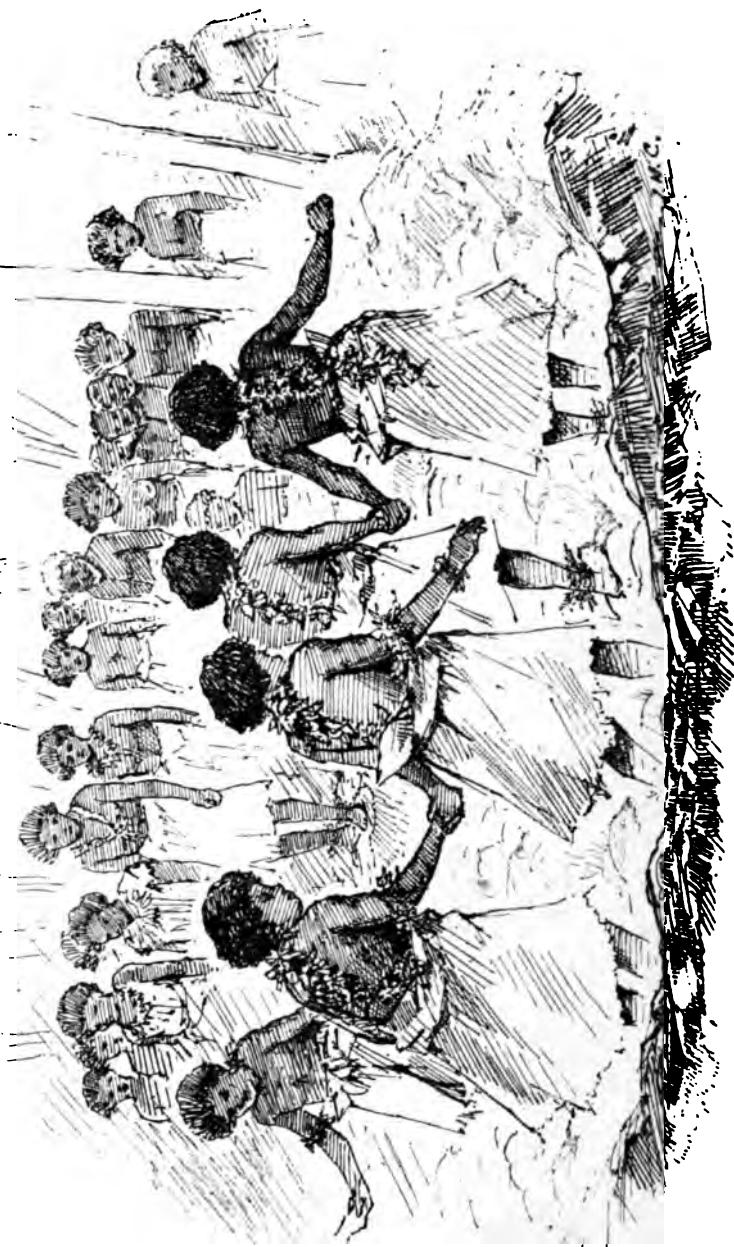
Here is a phenomenon, and here is an animistic theory. Folklore classes the narrative with tales of ghostly lights, and leaves it there. Psychical research, if it notices the story, tries to get more evidence about it. Both studies are on the same ground.

One more example, and my case is closed.

Last year Mr. Basil Thomson sent me his *South Sea Yarns*, with the tale of how he saw, in a religious ceremony, Fijians march unscorched through a trench filled with stones on which a great fire had been lighted. The stones were hot enough to scorch a handkerchief laid on them, but they neither harmed the Fijians nor even burned their ankle fillets of dry fern. That same day a Bulgarian gentleman told me of a similar rite in rural Bulgaria. Virgil, as you know, mentions an exactly parallel religious performance. Mr. Laing, from New Zealand, refers me to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vols. ii. and iii., with a photograph of the fire-walkers. Mr. Thomson, by the way, also sent me a photograph, which I exhibit, with the handkerchief.

In the next page is an animistic theory, as it occurs, among

PLATE V.



RELIGIOUS CEREMONY IN FIJI.



savages and Romans, the failure of fire to burn. I shall not trouble you with cases from saintly legend, from the Bible, from missionary records, from mediæval ordeals, or from Iamblichus. These stories are surely within the province of folklore. But, as soon as they are told on the evidence of living and honourable men, psychical research also examines them. Now, what is the folklorist's attitude to be? Is he to refuse to listen to Mr. Thomson, Mr. Crookes (in Home's case), the writers in the Polynesian journal, Father Brebeuf, and others, merely because they say that they have seen phenomena of which savages and others give an animistic explanation? Here is on one side a folklore belief in certain phenomena. On the other side is the evidence, to the same phenomena, of cameras and of the eyes of living and distinguished men. Surely the cause which makes Mr. Thomson and the rest tell their story, is the cause which inspires folklore tradition to the same effect. And what is that cause? I do not think that folklore should be careless to know merely because psychical research is curious to know.

My conclusion is that certain obscure facts are, or may be, at the bottom of many folklore beliefs. Since psychical research investigates the alleged facts, as a folklorist I welcome in her an ally. Already, in my opinion, psychical research has explained the world-wide practice of *specularii*, the tales of magic mirrors, by showing that, as a matter of every-day fact, a proportion of persons can provoke hallucinations by looking into a clear deep. When Sir Walter Scott, a folklorist, intended to investigate this phenomenon in Egypt, he became, in intention, a psychical researcher. Are we to condemn him?

What I cannot understand is this: as long as a savage, mediæval, or classical belief (as in Fire-Walking) rests only on tradition it interests the folklorist. As soon as contemporary evidence of honourable men avers that the belief reposes on a fact, Folklore drops the subject. Psychical

"Protest."

... a "psychical" explanation given by mystics. I can assure you that when researchers become interested, mystics cease to be interested. ... which may be, it is a piece of folk-lore. ... students are accused, *en masse*, of being prejudiced. ... with a dominant prejudice, the student is inaccurate (as a matter of fact) and, ... of being retorted. Not the man who refuses to believe, but the man who refuses to listen (and who is, at best negatively, omniscient) appears to have a dominant prejudice. M. Boucher des Noyers was notoriously prejudiced in favour of palaeolithic man, while the savants unprejudiced who refused to believe him were wrong! Of all things, modern popular science seems to me to be to beware of attributing prejudice to students of psychical research. Shibboleth.

REPLY TO THE FOREGOING "PROTEST."

BY THE PRESIDENT.

MR. LANG'S "Protest" is, in the main, directed against my statement that modern psychism is but savage animism under a scientific disguise. It is that statement which I have to attempt to defend. In connection with it I shall seek to show that Mr. Lang's chief objection to psychical research" is not, as Mr. Lang surmises, that its followers "believe in the existence of phenomena which purport to be caused by intelligent beings." Of course they can believe what they like. My objection is *not* to the *research*, but to the *disguise* of it, which under the guise of the scientific, is *unscientific*. The Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882. The Folk-Lore Society had then been in existence four years. Professor Sidgwick, in his Inaugural Address to the new Society, laid stress on the importance

of endeavouring to settle the question as to the reality of certain phenomena conveniently grouped as "spiritual." To that question the Society has applied itself earnestly and vigorously. It has collected a large mass of evidence. It has appointed committees to sift that evidence. One of the most important of these Committees has investigated the phenomena of "Hallucinations." Above 400 persons (of whom Mr. Stead supplied one-tenth), several of whom were spiritualists, were set to work to collect answers to a series of questions addressed to all sorts and conditions of people, English and foreign, the purport of which was to ascertain if they had ever seen or been touched by persons or things which appeared not to be "due to any external physical cause." Out of 17,000 individuals 655 men and 1,029 women returned affirmative answers. About one-fourth of this total number of 1,684 reported only at second-hand; the remainder from more or less direct personal testimony. The table "dividing the answers according to the nationalities of the persons answering" shows, as might be expected, that more women than men answer the question in the affirmative, and that the lower the intellectual standpoint the higher are the "percentages of affirmative answers and hallucinations." England thus contrasts favourably with Brazil and Russia. Dealing with women only, among ourselves the percentage of affirmative answers to the total is a fraction over 11; among Russians it is just over 21; and among Brazilians it is nearly 28.

But what concerns us most here are the conclusions at which the Committee arrived. It finds that the Census affords "support to the argument for the continuity of psychical life, and the possibility of communications from the dead," while it unanimously holds it proved that "between deaths and apparitions of the dying persons a connection exists which is not due to chance alone." (*Report of Committee in Proc. Soc. Psychical Research, Part xxvi.*, p. 394.)

The Committee is to be credited with sincerity of attempt to apply the scientific method, feeble as is the grasp of it, to the interpretation of the evidence. But does anyone in his senses believe that had this evidence been sifted *au fond* by a Committee of the Royal Society, or of the Folk-Lore Society, such a conclusion as the foregoing would have been reached?

Some questions were put to the 1,684 affirmants as to their health and mental state when seeing hallucinations. But think what nicety of investigation is necessary to arrive at the physical and psychical equipoise of the 163 who saw "realistic human apparitions of dead persons," and of the 12 who saw "angels"! How could the Committee be satisfied as to the intellectual competence of the majority of the affirmants to distinguish between objective and subjective presentments? To what extent was there recognition and elimination of all possible natural causes before abnormal causes were assumed? One-tenth of the collectors was drawn from classes not highly educated, as small shopkeepers and coastguardsmen. Nor does the *personnel* of the Committee itself inspire our confidence. I should prefer five thoroughgoing sceptics to Professor Sidgwick and his wife, Miss Alice Johnson, and Messrs. Myers and Podmore (the two ladies taking, it appears, the more active share in the whole business). And when these biased elements give us, in addition to the conclusions quoted, the further affirmation that "there are some phantasms of the dead which by their appropriateness suggest that the deceased are taking a continued interest in mundane affairs," surely we have as near approach to the old animism as is needed to justify what was said in my Address.

When I spoke of the utter valuelessness—I might have added the fatuousness and imbecility—of the contributions which psychical research, after thirteen years' work at it, has presumably made to our knowledge of a spirit-world, Mr. Lang asks, "Who is talking of a spirit-world? Certainly

not Mr. Oliver Lodge." I say that if Messrs. Lodge, Crookes, Sidgwick, and other prominent members of the Society are not using the *term*, the *thing* is in their minds. To quote a phrase which Mr. Lang uses in the preface to his *Cock Lane and Common Sense*, they are not thinking of the "rather unusual," but of a possible supernatural. The possibility of something turning up "not belonging to the ordinarily known physical universe"—I cite the words of Professor Lodge—rules their counsels and informs their methods. I know Professor Lodge. He is a sincere, truth-loving, truth-seeking man. But he has a bias; "the heart rules the brain," as the French proverb has it. How can one trust him, capable physicist as he is, to deal with phenomena for the inducement and interpretation of which he argues that a hazy, muzzy state of mind is better than a mind "keenly awake and 'on the spot'"?¹ The following is a Mohammedan receipt for summoning spirits: "Fast seven days in a lonely place and take incense with you.

¹ "It has long been known that in order to achieve remarkable results in any department of intellectual activity, the mind must be to some extent unaware of passing occurrences. . . . When a poet, or musician, or mathematician, feels himself inspired, his senses are, I suppose, dulled or half-asleep, and though probably some part of his brain is in a great state of activity, I am not aware of any experiments directed to test which that part is, nor whether, when in that state, any of the more ordinarily used portions are really dormant or no . . . It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the state is somewhat allied to the initial condition of anaesthesia,—the somnambulic condition when, though the automatic processes of the body go on with greater perfection than usual, the conscious or noticing aspect of the mind is latent, so that the things which influence the person are apparently no longer the ordinary events which affect his peripheral organs, but either something internal or else something not belonging to the ordinarily known physical universe at all . . . when the half-asleep person seems to receive impressions from a different stratum altogether. . . . By experiment and observation it has now been established that a state very similar to this can be induced by artificial means, e.g. by drugs, by hypnosis, by crystal-gazing, by purposed inattention; and also that the state can occur occasionally without provocation, during sleep and during trance."—Extracts from Prof. Lodge's Address, *Proc. Soc. Psy. Research*, Pt. xxvi., pp. 14, 15.

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Read a chapter 1,001 times from the Koran. That is the secret, and you will see indescribable wonders ; drums will be beaten beside you, and flags hoisted over your head, and you will see spirits" (*Klunzinger's Upper Egypt*, p. 386). Thus have the dreamy East and the self-hypnotised West met together to elicit truth from trance.

Than Mr. Lang, no man has more frequently or more eloquently laid stress on the fact of the identity of the phenomena throughout all times and peoples, the explanation of which the Society for Psychical Research is at such pains to reach. In physical anthropology the evidence is cumulative as to the primitive state of man, a state inconsonant with high mental development. In psychical anthropology the evidence is cumulative as to the animistic stage, or the accrediting of life akin to his own in everything around him by man, as the earliest note of his interpretation of his environment. Where are the proofs that the psychical researchers have availed themselves of these twin keys to the problems they would solve? Surely the identical character, *mutatis mutandis*, of apparitions, hallucinations, and the like among savage and civilized people, should make them pause to ask if the "old animism" is not the chief factor in their production and persistence. As Mr. Lang applauds Dr. Tylor for attending *séances*, one has the greater satisfaction in noting that in the third and revised edition of *Primitive Culture* a pregnant conclusion appears unmodified. After illustrating the relation of the newer to the older spiritualism, and the similarity of the manifestations, rapping, writing, rising in the air, and so forth, Dr. Tylor remarks : "Hereby it appears that the received spiritualistic theory of the alleged phenomena belongs to the philosophy of savages." This being so, one is not sure, to quote Dr. Tylor further, whether "we have in such enquiries continued reason to be thankful for fools." And I am also not sure whether the Society for Psychical Research will be grateful to Mr. Lang—its "effective ally," as Mr. Walter

Leaf calls him—for his suggestion that at least it supplies the Folk-Lore Society with further material for the study of “survivals” or “revivals.” But, apart from the light afforded by anthropology, where are the proofs that the Society duly weighs the explanation of psychical phenomena which modern physiology supplies? If sufficing causes of these are known, does not the “law of parsimony” exempt us from the labour of seeking for other causes? Upon the pathology of hallucinations, there is no need to dwell at length. Who doubts that they are the effect of a morbid condition of that intricate, delicately-poised structure, the nervous system, under which objects are seen and sensations felt when no corresponding impression has been made through the medium of the senses? Voices, whether divine or of the dead, may be heard; actual figures seen; odours smelt; when the nervous system is out of gear. A mental image becomes a visual image; an imagined pain a real pain, as the great physiologist, John Hunter, testified when he said, “I am confident that I can fix my attention to any part until I have a sensation in that part.” Shakespere portrays the like condition when Macbeth attempts to clutch the dagger wherewith to stab Duncan :

“ There’s no such thing ;
It is the bloody business which informs
Thus to mine eyes.”

This abnormal state, which sees things having no existence outside the “mind’s eye,” is no respecter of persons; the savage and the civilized are alike its victims. It may be organic or functional. Organic, when disease is present; functional, through excessive fatigue, lack of food or sleep, or derangement of the digestive system, causing the patient, as Hood says, “to think he’s pious when he’s only bilious.” Into the details of these abnormal states there is neither time nor need to enter. It suffices to say, that under such conditions, hallucinations of all sorts possess the mind;

hallucinations from which the true peptic, who, as Carlyle says, "has no system," is delivered. Only the mentally anaëmic, the emotionally overwrought, the unbalanced, are the victims, whether of the lofty illusions of august visions such as carried Saint Paul, Saint Theresa, and Joan of Arc, into the presence of the holiest; or hallucination of drowned cat, thin and "dripping with water," born of the disordered nerves of Mrs. Gordon Jones. In all which I presume that Mr. Lang agrees with me. He says that, "persons can be hallucinated in the given circumstances." But that explanation does not content the psychical researcher. He sees in apparitions a connection with the dead, which is due to something more than chance. The implication is that it is due to what Mr. Myers calls the "temporary materialisation of supposed spirits," and if this be not one of the stock equivalents for the "old animism," then I know not the meaning of words.

I do not understand why Mr. Lang has imported the subject of hypnotism into this discussion. In asking the superfluous question if I deny the "possibility of inducing artificial slumber without the use of drugs," I am set wondering whether he hints at the probability of the mind of one man working upon the mind of another otherwise than through the operation of the senses. That, of course, I deny. The pathology of hypnotism is simple enough for him who reads as he runs to understand. It is our old friend mesmerism, or electro-biology, or odylic force, "that *od*-force of the German Reichenbach," as Mrs. Barrett Browning says, scientifically explained. Not "the fluid universally diffused" of Mesmer, nor the "ejaculative vertue" of Montaigne, nor the "envenomed exhalation" of Heliodorus, but, among other influences, the continuous staring of the operator, who thereby induces such fatigue of the nervous system as to hypnotise consciousness, and compel the subject to obey every suggestion of the hypnotiser.

So much, in brief, for that, into which, surely, no problems

of psychical or other phase of ontological research can enter. Not quite so briefly, however, can one deal with the "strange case" of Professor Crookes and Mr. Home upon which Mr. Lang challenges discussion.

He refers, as becomes a well-equipped anthropologist, to the wide distribution of legends of levitation, "wildest of all fables, in the presence of which we stand speechless," as he says in *Cock Lane and Common Sense* (p. 101). But I read in his "Protest" a strange note of hesitation as to the inclusion thereunder of the story told by Mr. Crookes about the temporary suspension of the law of gravitation, and the consequent disturbance of the cosmic equilibrium, in the case of that not immaculate medium, the late D. D. Home. Mr. Lang says: "I have rarely been more curiously impressed than when I heard Mr. Crookes gravely aver" this story. "Here is the explanation of the large folklore and hagiological chapters about levitation," and so forth. Well, I miss the "explanation"; but let that pass. Mr. Lang asks for mine.

I also have heard Mr. Crookes tell this story, and was likewise "curiously impressed," but perhaps in a different way from that which Mr. Lang indicates. Anyhow, one may repeat what has been said already about Professor Lodge. Mr. Crookes is a sincere and truth-loving man. I have no shadow of doubt that he believes that he saw the thing which he describes; that his belief is to himself as well grounded as, let us say, the belief of such men as Sir Thomas Browne and John Selden in witches was to them. But although the statement is made by one "whose word science accepts to a millimetre for accuracy of observation"—"one out of hundreds," so Mr. Lang says—I am not satisfied with the evidence *per se*. I have no means of verifying it, as I have the existence of thallium, or the behaviour of the radiometer, or any other of Mr. Crookes' wonderful discoveries. I should want the levitation repeated many times before many witnesses. I would not trust my own eyes in the matter.

256 *A Reply to the foregoing "Protest."*

I cannot forget that man's senses have been his arch-deceivers, and his preconceptions their abettors, throughout human history; that advance has been possible only as he has escaped through the discipline of the intellect from the illusive impressions about phenomena which the senses convey. And I fall back upon the words of Dr. Carpenter, words the more weighty because they are the utterance of a man whose philosophy was influenced by deep religious convictions: "With every disposition to accept facts when I could once clearly satisfy myself that they were facts, I have had to come to the conclusion that whenever I have been permitted to employ such tests as I should employ in any scientific investigation, there was either intentional deception on the part of interested persons, or else self-deception on the part of persons who were very sober-minded and rational upon all ordinary affairs of life?" He adds further: "It has been my business lately to inquire into the mental condition of some of the individuals who have reported the most remarkable occurrences. I cannot—it would not be fair—say all I could with regard to that mental condition; but I can only say this, that it all fits in perfectly well with the result of my previous studies upon the subject, viz., that there is nothing too strange to be believed by those who have once surrendered their judgment to the extent of accepting as credible things which common sense tells us are entirely incredible." These words will cover all that I could wish to say about Mr. Lang's reference to the recent case of one Eusapia Paladino, an uneducated Neapolitan woman, who, without apparent contact, is reported by Professor Lodge to have pushed and pinched him, of course in the usual twilight or darkness, about the head and body. Mr. Maskelyne includes this among "the sorriest of trickeries," and has offered, if the Society for Psychical Research is not disposed to find the money, to undertake the expense of bringing Eusapia to London for the purpose of testing the genuineness of her doings. Mr. Lang will, I am sure, wel-

come her arrival with a cordiality not less hearty than that with which Jabez Spencer Balfour was received at Bow Street.

In reference to the incident of *mystic* lights reported to Mr. Lang by his Indian correspondent, he must feel with me that we want more *terrestrial* light before venturing on the naturalistic explanation to which the belief must ultimately yield. And as for the story of the Fijians walking unscorched over redhot stones, and the parallels to which Mr. Lang refers, I presume that he agrees with me that the whole thing is a trick. I don't pretend to know how it is done. But it is well known that the soles of people who go bare-footed acquire a callosity which enables them to endure what we could hardly tolerate in our boots. Moreover, barbaric conjurors are, to use slang, "up to snuff" as well as Professor Pepper or Mr. Maskelyne. Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson tells me that the feet may be rendered insensible to heat by bathing them in very diluted sulphuric acid. The Fijian fire-walkers are probably ignorant of that recipe. But they may know of something equally protective. Sir Benjamin adds that about two centuries ago a namesake of his created a great stir by walking on hot plates, chewing burning coals, and the like, and that it was afterwards suggested that the trickster had made the soles of his feet callous by singeing or pricking them, or by using oil of vitriol or alum. Possibly the Fijians might know something about alum, if not about sulphuric acid, which, I believe, occurs, though very rarely, in its free state as a natural product. And it is well known that a man may hold his naked hand in a stream of molten iron so long as the hand is kept moist. The intense heat causes the moisture to retain its spherical form, so that there is a sort of film between the hand and the metal, rendering the heat perfectly bearable.

Mr. Lang tells us that, as a folklorist, he welcomes psychical research as an ally because "it investigates the alleged facts." As a folklorist I repudiate it because that

investigation is worthless, being vitiated by imperfectly guarded methods, and by the preconceptions of the researchers. A very large portion of the phenomena falls within the province of both the Folk-Lore and the Psychical Societies. Of these phenomena there cannot be two varying canons of investigation. So that the "difference of method" which Mr. Lang regrets is a fundamental difference. If one method is right, then the other is wrong, and there is no fellowship between us save in crediting each other with honest desire to get at the truth. The psychical researcher represents a state of feeling, the folklorist represents an order of thought. Upon this, when writing my Address, it seemed to me well to lay stress, the more so as one strove to prefer large claims for the science of folklore; to show that, for humankind in its vast and momentous interests, there is no study of deeper importance. And in the degree that it falls into line with the general doctrine of evolution, it marches not with any method which tends to confusion rather than to order, and which postulates unknown causes to explain effects which known causes are sufficient to produce.

NOTE.—I am informed that the book entitled *Soul Shapes*, referred to in my Address (*supra*, p. 79), is not to be taken seriously.

SHOE-THROWING AT WEDDINGS.

BY JAMES E. CROMBIE.

PELTING a bride and bridegroom with old shoes when they start on their honeymoon is a custom we are all familiar with, and in which many of us have participated. It forms one of a number of other throwing customs indulged in on the same occasion, and which differ from one another rather in the missile selected than in the motive of the assault. Of these other customs by far the commonest, and the one we are most familiar with, is the custom of throwing rice over

the young couple when they go away. But when we come to analyse and compare these two customs we find the one differs from the other in two most important particulars. Firstly, the shoe-throwing custom differs from the rice-throwing one because the rice thrown is invariably new and good, and fit for consumption, whereas the shoes thrown are invariably old and worn, and unfit for further wear. Secondly, rice-throwing differs from shoe-throwing in its universality. For whereas we find the custom of throwing rice, or some other cereal, prevalent in almost every land, we find shoe-throwing practised mainly, I think, in those parts of the world inhabited by Englishmen or directly influenced by them, among the wandering gipsies of Transylvania, some parts of India, and one or two other places.

But if the two customs differ in some points there is not a shadow of difference in the motive generally assigned for their performance. For both the (ordinary) shoe-thrower and the rice-thrower agree in saying that the throwing is done by them with a view to bringing luck to the persons assaulted. Now where does the luck come from?

If shoes were like rice or corn, one of the staple commodities of life, it would not be difficult to formulate at least one plausible theory: namely, that as the outset of one's married life is apt to be ominous of the rest of it, an abundance of the staple of life at the beginning is likely to be followed by abundance to the end, and that therefore those who throw rice symbolise by their action their desire that plenty may ever follow the young couple till death do them divide. But shoes are not a staple of life, and even if they were I don't know that we should have any right to decide off-hand that that was the reason why a volley of them brought good luck and why we throw them at weddings. Take the case of rice. Although *we* do not as a rule throw rice except at weddings, we are rather singular in this respect. In many parts of the world no important undertaking is entered upon without the performance of

this ceremony, and the reason assigned for it is quite as probable as, and much more amusing than, our own.

As Mr. Fraser says in his *Golden Bough*, over the greater part of the world the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take to flight. This is a conception all of us are familiar with, and it has left its trace in most languages, particularly in their poetry. But what is metaphor to a modern European poet was sober earnest to his savage ancestors, and is still so to many people. The Malays, for example, carry out this conception of the bird to its practical conclusion. If, they argue, the soul is a bird on the wing, it may be attracted by rice, and so prevented from taking its perilous flight. Thus in Java, when a child is put on the ground for the first time (a moment which uncultured people seem to regard as especially dangerous), it is put in a hencoop, and the mother makes a clucking sound as if she were calling hens. In the Celebes, marriage is another critical epoch; it is thought a bridegroom's soul is apt to fly away then, so coloured rice is scattered over him to induce it to stay. And in general at South Celebes, rice is thrown on the head of anyone in whose honour a festival is held, with the object of detaining the soul, which at such times is in especial danger of being lured away by envious demons.¹ Well may this rite have come to be regarded as bringing luck if it kept the soul in check, for what does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

Now, however ludicrous this bird theory of the soul may appear to us, and however probable it may be that the prevalence of the idea may account for the rice-throwing, it appears to me that it won't account for our shoe-throwing. At any rate, I don't think if any of us possessed a fowl and were anxious to keep it in our hen-run, we would throw our boots at it as a delicate way of tempting it to stay. Nor does it appear to me that any more possible or less contradictory explanation can be drawn, from following

¹ *Golden Bough*, vol. i. p. 124.

out to its logical conclusion and applying to shoes the more common and civilised idea of corn being thrown to testify to the thrower's wishing the young couple plenty all their lives. On the same analogy, instead of old shoes only being thrown on such a momentous occasion, nothing but new ones ought to be employed. For it is a sorry compliment to wish your newly wedded friends that they may all their lives have abundance of old boots and shoes. It would be kinder, surely, to keep a pair of new shoes for such an occasion. Of course we may be told that once new shoes were probably thrown, but that we have got more sensible, and seeing the folly of the whole performance, and still desiring to keep up the traditional fun involved in it, have very economically and properly substituted old shoes for new ones. But is there any evidence of this? If there is it will completely upset the theory I am going to propound, and some others besides. For I must admit that though shoes are not staples of life like corn or rice, they were at one time of much greater intrinsic value than they are at present.

Here are some examples. It is very extraordinary to find in how many different countries the staple wedding gift of the bridegroom to the bride or to her relatives is a pair of shoes. According to a sumptuary law of Hamburg, enacted in 1291, the bridegroom was bound to present the bride with a pair. They almost played the part of our engagement ring, and were, as it were, evidence of betrothal. Among the Saxons of Transylvania it is still the custom for the bridegroom early in the morning of the wedding to send his intended a pair of shoes. And an ancient tradition enjoins upon the girl, that she must treasure these shoes up, if she wants to be kindly treated by her husband, for he will not begin to beat her till they are worn out.¹ In Greece, when the maiden has concluded the leave-taking with her friends in her father's house, the best man puts on her feet her boots, the gift of the bridegroom. Then the procession

¹ *Land beyond the Forest*, vol. i. p. 179

starts for church, but before entering it the bridegroom's mother asks the maiden three times, "Bride, hast thou the shoes?"¹ Lady Hamilton informs us that also among some of the American Indians, the braves when they visited their mistresses before marriage placed on her foot the "otoia," or shoe.² But in many places the shoes are given to the relatives and not to the bride. Amongst the East Finns the young couple are attended to their bedroom by the entire company, but the bride's mother won't allow the young husband to go to bed till he has given her a pair of shoes.³ In Bulgaria the bridegroom makes a money present to the relatives of the bride called the "oboutcha," or shoe money, and the father of the family buys with it shoes for the family community. This money is said to be a relic of the price paid by anyone for a wife to the clan from which she was taken.⁴ In Scotland, about the end of last century, the mere fact of possessing a pair of shoes testified to no small amount of affluence. Both Burt⁵ and Somerville⁶ gave graphic pictures of the shoelessness of the lower classes in those days, and economists will smile at the then current wages, which for female servants amounted to only three half-crowns and a pair of shoes in the twelve months. And Banffshire farmers will understand how their great-grandfathers made both ends meet when they read in the annals of Banff that the ploughmen in 1748 were content to labour for twenty-six shillings and eightpence a year, with two pairs of shoes. But there is another side to that happy picture of low wages and low rents, for only forty years earlier the farmers of Aberdeenshire were chasing the cattle-lifting Caterans of Lochaber over the mountains into Perthshire, and redeeming their stock by paying the thieves

¹ *People of Turkey*, vol. iv. p. 110.

² *Marriage Rites*, 303.

³ *Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten*, p. 169.

⁴ "Rites and Usages Nuptiaux en Ukraine," *L'Anthropologie* (1891).

⁵ *Letters from the North of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 100, 103, 107, 111.

⁶ *Somerville's Life and Times*, pp. 326, 342.

each a bag of meal and a pair of shoes.¹ It would be fair enough to argue from these examples that shoes were once more valuable than now, and that their throwing at weddings may have meant something more than appears at first sight. But the great objection to such a theory is that there is not a shred of evidence to point to new shoes having ever been thrown, so we must look for the latent luck in some other quarter.

There have been several theories advanced to account for the shoe-throwing custom and its attendant luck. A great authority on marriage customs, the late Mr. McLennan of Edinburgh, thought that the custom was a survival of wife-capture, and recognised in the shoe-throwing the remains of the fight for the defence of the woman.² If we accept Mr. McLennan's premisses it is not difficult to explain how the idea of luck arose. Men do not fight for or defend any thing or person they do not value; on the other hand they will fight vigorously for anything they esteem. The vigour with which they contend for any object may therefore be taken as the measure of its value.

Suppose, in the old days, a wife-stealing party were to appear in any neighbourhood and run off with a woman, and her relatives made no defence; then the person run away with would feel that her friends did not think her worth fighting for, and probably her lover would come to the same conclusion. If, on the other hand, there was a tremendous struggle, she would feel rather proud, and he would feel that she must indeed be a prize before such an uproar would be made about her. A stout fight would prove the value of the acquisition the man was making. It would be a good or lucky sign. Then suppose the same community to have advanced in civilisation, marriage by capture gives place to milder forms of wooing, but many of

¹ *Inverness Courier*, August 17th, 1847; cf. *Church and Social Life in the Highlands*, p. 20.

² *Primitive Marriage* (1865), p. 29.

the old forms and customs of primitive times would still survive. We know they do. A certain superstitious value is attached to them, no marriage is complete where they are omitted, and, as is well known, any niggardliness, or parsimony, or breach of the recognised etiquette at the outset of the married life was held to be ominous of what would follow during the rest of it; it would therefore, supposing the shoe-throwing to have been a usual accompaniment of marriages and to have survived, have been unusual to have omitted it and consequently ill-omened or unlucky. Conversely it would be usual, well-omened, or lucky to have it performed. This, I think, is what Mr. McLennan means, and it is true enough if we accept his hypothesis and think that the shoe-throwing is really a relic of the fight for the bride.

For my own part I have never quite been able to follow him. For although I admit the prevalence of marriage by capture, I don't think there is any evidence to show that our ancestors made use of their shoes as weapons of offence in preference to anything else, and unless they had had an altogether excessive partiality for this particular form of missile it is a little difficult to see how, or why it should have survived to our day. Had stones been used we could have understood it, and an excellent example of Mr. McLennan's theory would have been afforded by a Burmese custom quoted in McMahon's *Far Cathay Farther India*. It is customary there on the night of the wedding for a number of young bachelors to surround the young couples' house and pelt the roof. The explanation given by the natives is, that nine celestial beings or Brahmans, having elected to remain on earth, and having partaken of terrestrial food in place of celestial manna, degenerated from their pristine angelic form and taking the shape of mortals, five became men and four women. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples on their wedding night, and it is thought

that the stone-throwing of the present day is done out of sympathy with the feelings of that archetypical bachelor of long ago.¹

Another explanation is given by Mr. Dyer in his *English Folk-Lore*, copied, I think, from *Notes and Queries*. "It has been suggested," Mr. Dyer says, "that the shoe is not thrown for luck only, but that it was originally a symbol of renunciation of dominion and authority over the bride by her father or guardian; and the receipt of the shoe by the bridegroom, even if accidental, was an omen that the authority was transferred to him. Thus in Deuteronomy (chap. xxv.), the ceremony of a widow rejecting her husband's brother in marriage is by loosing his shoe from off his foot; and in Ruth we find that it was the custom concerning changing, that a man plucked off his shoe and delivered it to his neighbour." In a little book called *The History of the Present Jews*, we find a detailed account of this ceremony as practised among them. It follows in every detail the text of Deuteronomy, except that there appears to be a state shoe kept for the purpose nowadays. "The brother-in-law," it says, "puts on a shoe which the Rabbins used to have for the same purpose, and which will come upon any foot, and then the woman comes up to him, and with the Rabbin's assistance says in Hebrew these words to him out of verse 7 :

"My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother."

And he answers her :

"I like not to take her."—Verse 8.

Then she stoops down, and unties and puts off his shoe, and throws it upon the ground and spits before him; and the Rabbins saying the words before her she goes on and says:

"So shall it be done to that man that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed."

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

These words she repeats three times, and the standers-by cry out every time, "He that hath his shoe loosed."

It will be noticed that neither in the ancient nor in the more modern custom is there any hint of throwing the shoe at the man. The whole ceremony consists in simply untying and removing his shoe. In a great many parts of the world to-day it is quite a recognised part of the wedding festivities for the bride to remove her husband's boots. It is admittedly done with a view to symbolising the woman's acceptance of her marriage vows, and recognition of her position of subjection to her husband's wishes. Such a sentiment may appear very revolting to the "New Women," who are attracting some notice at present, but it may interest them to know that in down-trodden Russia even the *old woman* rebels against the idea of inferiority implied in the menial duty, and while she dutifully removes her lord and master's boots as a sign of subserviency, never fails to deal him a sound clout on the head with one of them, by way of showing that she is not one whit inferior to him.¹ It is obvious, however, that no such ideas can be involved in the Hebrew custom, for the woman there undoes the man's shoe as a symbol of undoing the tie that binds her to him, and by so doing regains her freedom, whereas in the Russian custom it is the reverse.

The key to the solution of the problem is afforded us by the late Professor Robertson Smith in his book on *Kinship and Marriage*,² in which he points out an excellent reason for the choice of a shoe on such an occasion, in preference to any other article of dress. According to Professor Smith, the words in Hebrew for shoe and wife are identical, and if that is so, what fitter means of symbolising the casting off of a wife (and the instance of Ruth is a case in point) than in removing and casting off the man's shoe who failed to respond to the duties of the levirate. A Bedouin

¹ Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 302.

² *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 269.

form of divorce is, "She is my slipper, I have cast her off."¹

Mr. Dyer does not appear to have been aware of this coincidence when he selected this particular passage for the foundation of his theory. A much better illustration of what he wanted to show lay ready to his hand in the sixtieth Psalm :

"God hath spoken in His holiness ; I will rejoice, I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth. Gilead is Mine, and Manasseh is Mine ; Ephraim also is the strength of Mine head ; Judah is My lawgiver ; Moab is My washpot ; over Edom will I cast out My shoe : Philistia, triumph thou because of Me. Who will bring Me into the strong city ? who will lead Me into Edom ?"

The casting out of the shoe over Edom is regarded by some as symbolical of abandoning it; for my own part I think it means the reverse, and that it is symbolical of the intention to conquer it, and the symbolism of throwing a shoe over it is tantamount to walking over it. Be that as it may, what has this Jewish custom to do with us? Is there any evidence of shoe-throwing as symbolical of authority having been practised in our country? There is. We read in Gibson's *Cambden* that the O'Cahans had the right to throw a shoe over the head of the O'Neal when he was chosen chief. It is a curious performance, and the only apparent motive for it must have been to mark the superiority of the thrower and symbolise his suzerainty. If that is so, then the shoe-throwing on the part of the bride's people when the young couple set out on their marriage jaunt may have been intended to symbolise, that, although she is leaving her father's house, he does not renounce his ownership and authority over her. There is a good deal to be said in support of this theory. It is a common method of symbolising absolute authority for the person in the superior position to put his foot on the neck or head of the inferior, who kneels before him. Throwing a shoe over him may be

¹ Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, vol. i. p. 113.

taken to be a more expeditious way of attaining that end. It is also true—we have it on the authority of the Boulster Lecture—that at Anglo-Saxon weddings it was the custom for the bride's father to deliver one of her shoes to the bridegroom, who touched her on the head with it to show his authority. But in spite of the evidence Mr. Dyer produces in support of his theory, we are inclined to reject it, because there is at least one occasion on which shoe-throwing is performed, and in which Mr. Dyer's theory will not apply. It is a time-honoured custom to throw an old shoe after anyone setting out on a journey to bring him luck.

John Heywoods in his works (A.D. 1598) says :

“ And home againe hitherwards quicke as a bee,
Now for good luck, cast an old shoe after me.”

Where can possession or renunciation come in here? Clearly it will not apply. Must we therefore look for another theory to account for the shoe-throwing in this instance? It seems to us that the same motive will answer both, if we can get hold of the correct one. Mr. Dyer and most other investigators have proceeded on the assumption that the shoe-throwing is a marriage rite only. We prefer to start on the assumption that shoes are thrown at marriages, not so much because the occasion is a marriage, as because the occasion is one when a new departure in life is being taken. If we can explain why shoes are thrown for luck when anyone sets out on a journey we maintain that we can explain their use at marriages too.

I said at the opening of my paper that rice and shoes were only two of quite a number of other things thrown at weddings with a view to bringing luck. I told you that one explanation given for the throwing of rice was that it was one of the necessities of life. Now if corn is one of the great necessities of existence, water is another, and it will not be surprising to find instances of the sprinkling of bride and bridegroom with it. Mr. Rodd gives the

following account of a Rhodian wedding.¹ When the young couple enter their own house, "the husband on arriving dips his finger in a cup of honey and traces a cross over the door, while those present cry aloud, 'Be good and sweet as this honey is.' A pomegranate is placed on the threshold which the young husband crushes with his foot as he enters followed by his wife, over whom the wedding guests throw corn and cotton seeds and orange-flower water." In Albania the same author tells us that on the Monday following the wedding, "the wedding guests witness the symbolical eating of bread and honey together by the bride and bridegroom, and then a procession is formed to the village well, where they sprinkle one another with water." Risley, in the work already quoted,² relates how the bridegroom in the Mahili caste approaches the bride's house mounted on the shoulders of a male relative, and bearing on his head a vessel of water, how he is met at the entrance by the bride's brother similarly mounted and also carrying a vessel of water, and how the two cavaliers sprinkle one another. But just as we found that rice was sprinkled on other occasions than weddings, so we find it with water. Students of German folk custom will recollect how at the spring ploughing in Prussia, when the ploughman and sowers returned in the evening from their work in the field the farmer's wife or servants used to splash water over them. In the district of Cracow, when a woman at harvest time builds the last sheaf of corn, she is at once hailed as the "Baba" or "Old Woman" who makes the corn grow, is herself wrapped up in the sheaf, so that only her head projects out of it, and thus encased is carried to the farmhouse in the last wagon, where she is drenched with water by the whole family. The reason for this is very interesting. In every farm there is believed to reside a corn spirit. As field after field is cut, it is chevied from stalk to stalk, till at last it is driven to the last handful in the last field

¹ *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, pp. 99, 105.

² *Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii. p. 41.

and is cut down in it. The person dressed up is for the time being regarded as the incarnation of the spirit of fertility, and with a view to making the crop turn out well, and secure another good season, the peasants water her just as they would the growing corn itself. As Mr. Fraser says, the rite is essentially one of sympathetic magic.¹ It seems to me that we can account for the water-throwing at weddings on much the same lines as the sprinkling of the Baba, and that it too is a case of sympathetic magic, and that the idea prompting its performance is the same materialistic one of fructification. For we must never forget that a well-filled quiver was the proudest boast of the pre-Malthusian home, and a barren union the greatest disgrace, and that most of the curious customs at weddings are engaged in with a view to preventing such an untoward event. An excellent example of this is afforded by one of the customs just cited. It will be recollected that at the Greek wedding we spoke of a little while ago, in which water was thrown, a pomegranate also figured in the home-coming ceremony. We were told the young husband crushed it with his heel on the threshold. Now the pomegranate is a famous symbol of fertility, and the crushing of it on the threshold and letting free its seeds is a highly symbolical proceeding, intended to influence by sympathy the young couple. It is also a very remarkable fact, and strongly confirmatory of the view we take of the throwing of water at weddings, that the Hottentot maidens must run about naked in the first thunderstorm after the festival of their maturity is celebrated. The rain pouring down over the whole body of the girl who receives it is believed to have the virtue of making her fruitful and rendering her capable of having a large offspring.² But it may be asked, What has this to do with shoes? Is it suggested that shoes are thrown at weddings with a view to bringing luck in the form of offspring? And if so, can evidence be pro-

¹ *Golden Bough*, vol. i. pp. 339, 340, *et seq.*

² Hahn, *Tsuni-goam*, p. 87.



duced of a superstition pointing to their being believed to exercise a similarly beneficial effect upon animal life and vegetation?

It is our intention to suggest that this is one of the indirect objects of the shoe-throwing, and we can show some examples of shoes being considered to have a potent influence on vegetation and on animals. The most extraordinary of the latter is met with among the Esquimaux, who are in the habit of attaching a piece of an old shoe, which has once been worn by European sailors, to their wives to make them prolific mothers. In China, Doolittle¹ describes a curious visit which women pay to the shrine of "the mother" goddess in order to borrow one of her votive shoes. These shoes are dedicated to the goddess by women who have been blessed with family. Each suppliant burns incense and prays that she may become a mother too, and vows if her prayer is answered, and if the shoe she carries away does bring about the desired result, she will present another exactly like it to the divinity when she returns the one temporarily lent to her. Grinnell,² speaking of Blackfoot Indians and the ceremony of gathering the tobacco crop, says that the first plant is gathered with great ceremony. "It is plucked by a man who ties it to a little stick, and under the tobacco to the stick he ties a baby's mocassin." Why? "The little tobacco patch is sown in spring, and after doing so the Indians move away after the buffalo. From time to time while they are absent the men gather in some lodge to perform a special ceremony for the protection of the crop. Each man holds in his hand a little stick. They sing and pray to the sun and "Old Man," asking that the grasshoppers and other insects may not eat their plants. At the end of each song they strike the ground with their sticks as if killing grasshoppers and worms. It has sometimes happened that a young man has said that he

¹ Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol. i. p. 115.

² Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 270.

does not believe that these songs and prayers protect the plants. To such an one a medicine-man will say, 'Well, you can go to the place and see for yourself.' The young man goes. When he comes to the side of the patch and looks on it he sees many small children at work there killing worms." These children are the genii of the place, and the tying of the shoe on the stick is undoubtedly done with the idea of pacifying them and securing their goodwill, or in other words a good crop. It is in fact a variant of the Baba of the Cornfield. Herodotus tells us that the Chemmitæ of the Thebaid claimed Perseus as of Chemmitic descent, and they affirmed that Perseus frequently appeared to them on earth, and that a sandal worn by him was sometimes found which was two cubits in length, and that after its appearance all Egypt flourished.¹ In this instance the good crops may be said to have been due rather to the magical passing of Perseus than to the sandal itself. No such explanation will, however, meet the curious Esquimaux custom of hanging bits of old boots about their wives as talismans. In the explanation of this custom is involved the explanation of shoe-throwing at weddings and on other occasions, as well as a host of other minor customs and superstitions in which shoes play a part. The secret lies in the animism of the shoes. Now what do we mean by that? It is a well-known fact that among peoples low down in the scale of civilisation a certain magical virtue or power is attached to anything that has been made by, owned by, or most of all worn by another. Nor have more advanced religions managed to shake themselves entirely free of the same idea. We are all conversant with the story of Elisha and the marvels he wrought with Elijah's cloak. A few months ago the world was wondering at the faith or superstition that drew so many thousands to Treves to be healed by gazing on the so-called Holy Coat; just as, nearly four

¹ *Herodotus*, ii. 91.

hundred years ago, our ancestors used to flock to Canterbury to gaze with reverence, not on the ancient cathedral, for it was young then, but on the shoes of St. Thomas, the relics of its saint. But I want to show you another phase of this superstition. So far as we have gone we have only met with instances of the erstwhile possessor of the cloak or shoes, influencing us by means of these. The converse is less likely to be familiar to us, but it is none the less true and hardly less common. Indeed, the idea that if one could possess oneself of an article that had once belonged to another, the mere possession of that article would give the possessor the most extraordinary power over the original owner for good or evil, is more common than the other among peoples in the lower grades of culture, and is still frequently met with in the necromancy and magic of European peoples of to-day. In Germany, Grimm tells us, in the district of Saalfeld, old women often cut out a turf a foot long on which an enemy had trod, and hang it up in the chimney under the impression that the enemy will shrivel up just as the turf does, and ultimately die¹ a lingering death. While in Italy Mr. Leland says that a popular cure for the gout is to spit thrice on the footprint of the person to be cured, and at the same time to repeat a spell. These may appear extreme examples, but if we can injure or benefit a man by dealing with his footsteps it stands to reason that he could do it through his shoes, for shoes are merely footsteps glorified.

Nor is it necessary to go far afield for an example. In the middle of the 17th century the Scottish presbyteries were much exercised by the doings of sorcerers and charmers within their bounds, and we meet with the following amusing case in the year 1644 in the *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*.² It is somewhat a long story, and deals with the "cloddings,"

¹ Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 1798.

² *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, p. 50.

or, as we should term it, breach of the peace, occasioned in the respectable household of Alexander Christie by a sorcerer called Patrick Malcom. Walter Brabner, an order-loving neighbour, called as witness, deponed that he had seen the clodding, and fearful trouble raised in the house and continued for the space of twenty days, and he proceeds to tell the cause. Need we say there was a woman in it? But we shall let Walter speak for himself. "There was a servant woman with the said Alexander Christie whom the said Patrick (the accused) desired to go with him, and upon her refusal he told her that she should not win her fee that year, and likewise told her what she had in her ambrie, it being closed, whereupon the clodding began that night, and continued till they were forced to remove the said woman out of the house." Walter Brabner is dismissed, and the reverend fathers call on a certain Alexander Chrystie. Alexander gives more interesting details. "He depones that Patrick Malcome came and 'ljudged' in his house, where he urged his servant woman, Margaret Barbour, to committ filthines with him (as the woman declared) and required her *left shoe*, and he should cause her follow him, which the woman refusing, the clodding began, and continued till she was removed." From Margaret Barbour clinging to her virtue and her left shoe, we turn to Germany, where we find that in Hesse, if one wanted to fetch a comrade back from a foreign land, one had merely to boil his boots for four days in a pan of water drawn from a stream against the current. At the end of the fourth day the owner is guaranteed to appear, but the historian does not condescend on how he takes the treatment his boots have been put to.¹ Now why does the possession of the shoe give such influence over the owner that he or she can be led away at the will of the man who chooses? Let us take an extreme case again. In many parts of the world a mother-in-law

¹ Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 1093.

does not look at or come near her son-in-law. Melanesians have this curious taboo, and to such an extent is it carried that a mother-in-law will not go along the sands where her son-in-law has preceded her till the tide has completely effaced his footsteps. His personality seems to linger in his steps. If he had been dead we could have expressed our meaning at once by saying his ghost haunted them. The following example will make our meaning clearer; and it, and the others which follow, will show how closely a person's spirit is believed to be bound up in his shoes; for that is what we mean when we talk of the animism of shoes. In China, when a girl who has been betrothed dies before the wedding day, the man whom she should have married performs the custom of asking for her shoes. He goes to her parents' house, and with much weeping demands a pair of shoes she has recently worn. These he carries home in state, stopping at each street corner to call out her name and invite her to follow. On arriving at his home he informs her of the fact. Then a chair is arranged before a table, the shoes are placed either on the chair or under it, incense is burned on the table, and finally a tablet is placed to her memory among the other ancestral tablets of the family.¹ Everything is done just as if she were present and wore the shoes. But this uncanny belief in dead men living on in their shoes is not confined to China. A most remarkable example of the same idea attracted a good deal of notice during the trial of the Arran murder case at Edinburgh in November, 1889. The circumstances of the case may be stated very briefly. Two young men set out on a walking excursion in Arran, and only one of them was ever seen again alive. The body of the other was found in a lonely spot concealed under a heap of stones. Suspicion turned on the survivor, a man named Lawrie, and he was arrested, tried, and condemned to

¹ Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol. i. p. 102.

penal servitude for life. But what is of interest to us, is a little episode that took place during the trial. The clothes of the murdered man were produced in court, but when they were examined it was noticed his boots were not there. There was at once a call for them, and an explanation demanded for their absence. After some pressing it appeared that they were not forthcoming because the local constable had buried them on the sea-shore between high and low water mark. All the efforts of counsel failed to elicit any explanation of this extraordinary proceeding. The man would only admit that by the orders of his senior officer he had put them out of sight.

The probable explanation is that it was done with the idea of preventing the ghost of the murdered man from walking, for the removal of the shoes of a person who has either met with a violent death or is suspected of being a vampire, and making away with them, is not an uncommon northern superstition. The foreshore, a sort of no man's land, is just the spot that one would expect to be fixed on for their disposal.

In the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen may be seen the mummified corpse of a woman, said to have been Gunhild, who was treacherously seized by Harold Blue-tooth and drowned in a bog. Whether Gunhild or not, this body was dug out of a peat moss, and now lies in a wooden sarcophagus despoiled of her garments, "like a statue carved in oak fresh from the bogs of Hibernia." The clothes found on her are also preserved, along with the wooden hooks by which she was pegged down, "to allay all fear of her rising again to torment her murderer. The left shoe was removed, too—a very necessary precaution."¹

These examples, I think, prove pretty conclusively a widely spread belief that a person's ghost, soul, spirit, or life principle exists apart from him in his shoes.

¹ Marryat, *Jutland*, vol. i. p. 65.

Next I wish to refer to another belief common among primitive peoples, that this soul or life principle can be transferred to others and absorbed by them to the great advantage of the absorber. This can be best illustrated by reviewing some instances of superstitions regarding blood. We are ourselves accustomed to talk of the life's "blood." We see how, when a man is wounded and some severance of a great artery takes place, he speedily bleeds to death. It is therefore not a very illogical proceeding to regard the loss of blood as the cause of death, and, conversely, the retention of it as one of the causes of life. Such is the view many uncultured people take. Nor is it very surprising that peoples holding such views should conclude that in event of a person's being seriously unwell and stricken down with some disease, the nature of which they do not understand, his life may be prolonged and new vigour inspired into his wasted frame by pouring over him the blood of vigorous individuals. The Australian aborigines carry the idea with them to the grave; and at a funeral the relatives gash themselves over the corpse till it and the grave are covered with their blood. This is said to strengthen the dead man, and enable him to rise in another country.¹ An even more interesting blood custom takes place at a wedding among the Gallas, a tribe in the north-east of Africa, which deserves our special attention. When the bride is brought home, Paulitschke tells us, an ox is slaughtered, and bride and bridegroom dip their fingers in the blood and then paint one another, turn about, upon the breast and the lower part of the body (*geschlechtsteilen*) in order to procure strength and blessing for the expected offspring. Thereafter relatives of the bride paint her all over with blood so that she may have strength when she comes to bear children, and the bridegroom gives the finishing touch by pouring blood down the back of her

¹ Fraser, *Totemism*, p. 81, quoting *Nat. Trans. of S. Aust.*, 277.

neck.¹ Even a bonnie bride after such busking must be a rather sorry-looking object; and I would not have introduced her to your notice had it not been, first, that it is such an excellent example of the magical power of life principle believed to exist in blood, and the possibility of its being communicated to others; and, second, that we have found shoes being used with exactly the same end in view.

In fact we may go farther and say that the shoe is sometimes a more potent "medicine" than even blood itself. The following interesting veterinary example from Crooke's *Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (p. 41) will show this. In Sirsa, when a horse falls sick, the cure is to kill a fowl and let its warm blood flow into the animal's mouth; but if this cannot be done quickly, it is sufficient for a man to take off his clothes and strike the horse seven times on the forehead with his shoe. The combination of the magical use of the shoe with the well-known curative one of blood is most interesting. It throws unexpected light on a difficult question, and seems to us to go far towards solving the problem of where the luck of old shoes comes from. Fortified with this piece of evidence, we ask again, why do the Esquimaux hang parts of the old shoes of European sailors about their wives to make them prolific? Why is it that an Esquimaux father, who wants his young son to become a brave man, and good hunter like himself, insists on the boy's eating his meals off a platter placed on the father's boots? Both are very curious notions, but if we reason from the analogy of blood, and bear in mind the idea that the life or spirit or essence of a wearer lingers on in his boots or shoes, just as it does in blood, and might be communicated, we can see daylight through both Esquimaux customs. The Esquimaux regard, or did at one time regard, European sailors with particular reverence as almost divine

¹ Paulitschke, *Ethnog. nordost Afrikas*, p. 152.

beings. They were cleverer, stronger, and in every way superior to themselves. Then they would argue that if that were the case, part of their essence would linger even in their discarded shoes, and if these discarded shoes were attached to their wives some of it would pass to them, and endow them with similar qualities and make them strong. It is manifestly also the same idea that prompts the Esquimaux father to make his little boy eat off his boot. He does so in the hope that some of his own spirit, life, or essence, with all the qualities that distinguish him, may pass into the boy's food, and be absorbed by him in it, and that so the child may become as good, as wise, as strong as he is himself. We meet with similar ideas nearer home. It was, and still is, no doubt, the custom in some parts of Germany for a woman about to become a mother to wear her husband's shoes when her hour comes, in order to facilitate her labour. The idea being that as the husband is the stronger, she may by wearing his boots obtain some of his strength, and thus be more fitted for the ordeal in store for her. It would be difficult to find a closer parallel to the Esquimaux custom.

And now, bearing in mind the belief in the existence of the life principle in shoes and the possibility of its being communicated, let us turn our attention once more to our practice of throwing them at weddings. By doing so we should be doing for the young couple, in a more pleasant way, exactly the same as the relatives of the Galla bride did for her, when they anointed her from top to toe with the bullock's blood. We should be doing for them with shoes what our Aryan ancestors did for their cattle with the sacred parna rod, and what the herdsmen of Sweden and The Mark do to this day, when on the first of May they watch on which branch of the mountain ash the sun first strikes, and then cutting it down, beat the yearling heifers with it on the loins and haunches, repeating at each stroke a verse in which they pray that as sap comes into the birch so may milk fill

the cow's udder.¹ We should be doing with shoes what the Romans did in ancient Rome at the festival of the Lupercalia, when the boys armed with strips of the skin of the slaughtered goats used to rush through the city, striking all they met, and where women, particularly those who desired to be made fruitful, placed themselves naked in the way and received the blows of the Luperci on their palms.

We should in fact be supplementing the vital strength of the young couple at a most critical period of their career, when heavy calls are likely to be made upon it, by adding a little of our own supply of vitality to theirs. And if throwing a shoe was efficacious, then it would be efficacious at any other time when any undertaking of a risky nature was going to be entered on. And what undertaking was more risky in the old days than a journey? Criticising Ben Jonson's lines,

“Would I had Kemp's shoes
To throw after you,”

Grose suggested that Kemp was probably a lucky individual, and that accounted for the desire to hurl his shoes. No doubt, if Kemp had been a lucky individual, it would have rendered his shoes more powerful talismans. But after all, what was it that made even Kemp's shoes lucky? It was the veiled and forgotten belief that Kemp's life or essence lingered on in them, and could be communicated. Therein lay their luck. That is why old shoes are always thrown at weddings. It was through no motive of sordid economy. Economy is the last thing thought of on those occasions. Old shoes were thrown, to begin with, because men believed in their animism, and we throw old shoes still, and think that they are lucky, because, in spite of all our education and all our science, we have not been able to shake ourselves

¹ Kelly, *Indo-European Traditions and Folklore*, p. 160.

entirely free of the old beliefs and practices of the dark days of the childhood of our race. But it may be objected that there is no apparent necessity now for hitting the individual, and it may be asked how, if there is no contact, the life can be communicated by merely throwing the shoe after any one. That such should be the case by no means vitiates our theory. It is a symptom of the disintegration and decay in which all folk-customs fall, when they have to struggle against the milder manners of the men and women of to-day. We find it in the case of the blood rite, we find it in the case of saliva, we find it in everything. Customs like times change; the most surprising thing is that they change so little.¹

¹ Since writing the above I have had brought under my notice a series of articles on shoes which have recently appeared in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vol. iv., which will be found of great interest.

REVIEWS.

ANCIENT AND HOLY WELLS OF CORNWALL. By MABEL and
LILIAN QUILLER-COUCH. Chas. J. Clark, 1895.

UNDER this title is put out a little book containing a description of nearly a hundred holy wells. It is based on a MS. collection of the late Mr. T. Quiller-Couch, and completed by his daughters. The authors have described what they saw, and given all the lore they could glean from the folk about the wells. They have illustrated the more interesting wells with pictures, and collected what allusions could be got from the various histories of Cornwall. We have thus just what the student wants, a collection of facts, with very little theorising upon them.

Most of the wells seem to be very picturesque. They are nearly all covered with a little building, like a small chapel, having a vaulted roof and Gothic or rounded door. Within we find frequently a niche, which, perhaps, served for the image of the patron saint ; now and then a font or altar, and a stone slab to sit on. Moreover, in nearly all cases there is a church near by, the ruins of a chapel, or some trace that a chapel once stood there : it is named, maybe, in an old history, or has left its mark in some chapel farm hard by. Other wells have a cross beside them. A large number of them (43) are named after some saint, who is said to have lived there, or to have made the well.

As regards the superstitions connected with them, some are still in full force, and we find the usual bathing of the sick, divination, votive pins (once rags and once coins are mentioned, but no more). Where this is not the case, an odour of sanctity lingers about them, so that this water is preferred for christenings ; or it may be there is just an impression that the water is healthy to drink, as that of St. Eunius is considered "better than pumpen water." Hardly any of the wells have anything naturally remarkable about them ; one or two are chalybeate, one has stalactites, and that is about all.

One or two points are worth mentioning. (1) *Time*. The first three Wednesdays in May are the holy days in more than one case ; in another, the first three Sundays in May ; one prefers Holy Thursday and the two Thursdays following ; another must be visited on three successive days before sunrise, fasting (Saint's Well, Polperro). (2) *Property*. They give health by bathing or drinking. At Chapel Uny, a child must be drawn thrice through the water *against the sun*, and dried on the grass the same way. At Madron Well, you must face the sun. Many are wishing-wells, or afford divination by means of two straws crossed and fastened with a pin through the middle and put to float ; omens are taken from their sinking or swimming, and often from bubbles. The well of St. Keyne gives the mastery over his or her spouse to the husband or wife who first drinks of it. Several have the power of preventing any person baptized with the water from being hung with a hempen cord. St. Martin's has in it a magic stone for matrimony. (3) Legends of saints are often associated with them ; in one case even one of those queer tales which explain the origin of animals' names or characteristics (St. Levan's). (4) Of the ceremonial very little is said besides what I have mentioned. In one case, the field wherein stands the well is never to be tilled, or misfortune follows (Blisland) ; in a second, the corner of the field is left untilled (Tregaminion Chapel). This reminds us of the untilled spots left for Pan and the Nymphs in an ancient Greek farmstead. At Gunwalloe Well, one day in the year used to be set apart for cleaning it, and much merrymaking withal. "Gunwalloe Day" is still kept up, but all connection with the well is lost. Oddest of all is the Wesleyan service held annually at Madron Well (p. 137) ; after the sermon, the good folk, far from being shocked at the old heathen rites, ply their pins or pebbles with a zest.

It is to be hoped that this book will set others working on the same lines. There is much to be gleaned even in the most unpromising places, one instance of which I may mention in conclusion. The old "Barnwell" at Cambridge has been closed up for centuries, and is now hardly distinguishable from the town sewer which discharges near it. Yet within the last three years a workman was seen drawing water from it to bathe his wife's sore eyes.

W. H. D. R.

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NOTES.

NOTES ON THE CEREMONIES OF THE MALEK JAMAL
FESTIVAL IN MALTA.

Malta is a small island situated in the Mediterranean Sea, about 60 miles from Sicily and 100 miles from the coast of Africa. It is a dependency of Great Britain, and has been so since 1813. The capital is Valletta, which is built on a rocky headland. The island is about 20 miles long by 10 miles wide, and contains about 150,000 inhabitants. The people are mostly of Maltese origin, with some Sicilians and other foreigners. The language spoken is Maltese, which is a mixture of Italian, French, and English. The customs and superstitions of the Maltese are very similar to those of the Sicilians and the Italians. The Maltese are fond of gambling, and the most popular game is the *l'oca*, or *l'oca di Malta*. It is interesting to note that the *l'oca* is called *l'oca* in Malta, as formerly in Spain it was called *el oca*. The *l'oca* of a *papagaio* is the name given to a *papagaio* which is kept in many parts of Italy, appears to exist in Malta in evidence only. Children are made to believe that the *papagaio* can detect women in the pottery shop to clean up. Maltese Thursday by being thrown from the steps of the parish church. Is this connected with the Italian custom mentioned in the President's address (*infra*, p. 577). A human sacrifice at all events is plainly pointed at.

Mr. Busuttil should proceed with his investigations. There is much more to be learned by careful inquiries (not too directly put to natives, who are apt to be suspicious and reticent), both of the customs and superstitions mentioned by the author and of other traditions as yet unrecorded. In the present volume some of the attempts to account for the customs are not very happy, being derived from writers whose authority has been long super-

seded ; and there are some curious printers' errors. But these blemishes affect very little the real value of the work for students.

THE EVIL EYE: AN ACCOUNT OF THIS ANCIENT AND WIDESPREAD SUPERSTITION. By FREDERICK THOMAS ELWORTHY.
London : John Murray, 1895.

THE impression left on the mind by a perusal of this work is that of the talk of a man who has an endless quantity of information, and who pours it all out without much arrangement, without much selection, and without bringing his hearers to any definite conclusion. The author is an admirable collector ; many of his examples are at first-hand, and will prove most useful material for science ; but many of them are quite irrelevant ; and altogether he has been far too anxious "to void the stuffing of his travel-scrip." "Having no pet theories to expound," he declares that he has "been under no temptation to suppress or exaggerate." Here we must demur. He holds a brief on behalf of good old-fashioned Protestant Church-of-Englandism, and it renders him at times uneasily desirous of explaining away, or at least putting a gloss on, facts which he thinks awkward, but which he is far too honest to suppress or distort. But it is true that he has no scientific theory to propound. It would have been better if he had ; for then he would have suppressed much that is a little beside the mark in a work on the Evil Eye. Moreover, with the exception of Dr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and Mr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, he is unacquainted with any modern and scientific works on folklore. Even M. Tuchmann's elaborate compilation on *La Fascination*, indispensable as it is to any one writing on the Evil Eye, is (of course not wilfully) ignored. In consequence of this want of acquaintance with the literature of folklore, he hardly apprehends the true import of much that Dr. Tylor and Mr. Frazer have written ; and he relies on such authors as Payne Knight, Forlong, Inman, and King, whose works, though by no means destitute of value, require to be supplemented and corrected by the investigations of men who have devoted their attention to other aspects of archaic philosophy and religion.

Enough of fault-finding : it is pleasant to be able to turn to the reverse of the medal. Mr. Elworthy's merits lie in his qualities as a collector. His account of the superstitions of the West

Country, where he resides, is extremely interesting. He has not thought scorn to inquire into the modes of thought of his poorer neighbours. He has noted, and noted down for us, their prejudices, their precautions, their remedies ; and the student will find plenty of cause for gratitude to him. Having spent much of his time in the south of Europe, especially in Italy, too, Mr. Elworthy has not neglected the opportunity of acquiring either authentic details regarding the folklore of the countries where he has sojourned, or the material tokens and instruments of superstition. Many of the amulets he has obtained are figured, together with drawings (made often by himself) from works of ancient art. And he has displayed much ingenuity in tracing the development and meaning of some of these objects, of which an excellent example is his treatment of the Cimaruta. It is pleasant thus to wander with him round his private museum, and examine some of the most curious specimens, listening to his comments, generally instructive, even when they are least relevant, and not seldom both acute and to the purpose. We trust he will yet add much to his collection and our knowledge. And if some day he could be prevailed upon to deposit the former for a time in some central and accessible place, like the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, or the Folk-Lore Society's case at the Guildhall, or at Cambridge, so that the objects themselves, and not merely their photographs, could be inspected, he would be unselfishly conferring a boon on all who desire to study some of the obscurer phenomena in the history of culture.

CLAN TRADITIONS AND POPULAR TALES OF THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS, collected from oral sources by the late Rev. JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL, Minister of Tiree. Selected from the Author's MS. remains, and edited by JESSIE WALLACE and DUNCAN MACISAAC, with Introduction by ALFRED NUTT. D. Nutt, 1895.

THIS volume, the fifth of the series, called *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, edited by Lord Archibald Campbell, opens with an introduction, by Mr. Alfred Nutt, relating shortly the story of Mr. Campbell's life and his work in folklore, and an account of the selection which follows from his note-books. The selection itself consists of Clan Traditions, Legendary History, Stories about

the Fairies, Folktales, or *Märchen* properly so called, Beast Fables, and an account of three Boys' Games. The Clan Traditions for the most part do not belong to the great stock of Indo-European traditions. They may be facts distorted by the medium of transmission. In some cases doubtless they are ; yet even here we come upon such well-known incidents as that of the lover purposely lost by his rival, the lady's refusal to wed for a year and a day, and the lover's return in the nick of time to make himself known at the wedding feast by drinking out of the bride's glass and slipping a ring into it.

Wild and fierce are many of these traditions, and Mr. Nutt remarks, with a caustic humour, that "not a few Highland landlords will possibly regret the good old days when the MacLean planted his gallows in the midst of the island of Tiree, and the last comer with his rent knew what awaited him. Truly a more effectual means of getting in the money than by writ which the sheriff cannot execute."

The story of *How O'Neil's hair was made to grow* is an interesting variant of the legend of Saint Eligius, and as such we commend it to the notice of M. Gaidoz. The form of the incident rather suggests Norse influence, which would be far from improbable in the Western Isles. The beast-tale of *The Wolf and the Fox* differs from other variants in transferring the narrator's sympathies from the fox to the wolf : a variation worth noting, whatever its meaning be in the history of the tale.

Altogether, the volume is a contribution to Highland folklore which it would have been a pity to miss. It is well worthy of a place in the series of *Waifs and Strays*.

TOLD ON THE PAGODA. TALES OF BURMAH. By MIMOSA.
London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1895.

A PRETTY little book of some six or seven tales prettily told—but not folklore, though some of the tales appear to be based on tradition. Burmah is a land almost unknown to folklore students ; and if the authoress, who seems to have opportunities and is clearly endowed with ability, would be content to set down the stories exactly as she hears them, with particulars concerning their tellers like those given by Miss Maive Stokes, she might make a substantial contribution to science.

CORRESPONDENCE.

GHOSTLY LIGHTS.

(Vol. v. p. 293.)

THE short paper by Mr. Walhouse on Ghostly Lights, which recently appeared in *Folk-Lore*, is of special interest to me, because the popular belief in such lights was at one time, and no doubt still is, exceedingly common in my country (Denmark). As a child I heard stories about these lights, and when I was a big boy I was more than once on the look-out for them. My father was at that time clergyman in one of the low, marshy parts of Jutland. Even in recent years I have been told of such lights, foreshadowing fire, being seen in the village where I have resided as clergyman over a long course of years, in the neighbourhood of the place where my childhood was passed. Very trustworthy persons have not only told me stories of what their grandfathers or grandmothers have seen, but they have minutely described what their own eyes have witnessed. It has at last come home to me that a something really has appeared. What that something is the question.

Looking over the materials for elucidating this point, I find four kinds of ghostly lights, namely :

1. Those that give warning of fire.
2. Corpse-candles.
3. Treasure-lights.
4. Marsh-fires, or "Will-o'-the-Wisp."

With regard to the first, those that give warning of a fire that is to come, I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding the many years I have passed in regions where those sights are said to be very common, I have never seen anything of the kind myself. I can only repeat what has been told to me, and in so doing I select some of the most interesting cases of which I am in possession.

In North Sleswick a house was in process of building ; every time the workmen touched a plank with their saws, or used their



axes, sparks were seen flying from the wood. The builder, beginning to feel alarmed, went to a renowned "wise man," named Jacob, to ask his advice. Mr. Jacob was well up in the subject, and informed the frightened farmer that those flying sparks betokened coming fire that would destroy his house; though *he* knew how to avert the calamity and "put the fire away" into a huge boulder. As long as the stone was untouched the house would be safe.

This tale, which I heard in my youth, is typical of many which I have been told in later years. It is indeed a very common superstition amongst carpenters that when, during the building of a house, sparks are struck from the wood, it signifies that the house will soon be destroyed by fire. The warning is called *forbrand*, *i.e.* burning beforehand. Compare the German verb *vorbrennen*. In Norway, I think it is called *ild-varsel*, *i.e.* fire-warning, and I will select some tales to show how it happens. There is a common rule in every case of warning, namely, the sooner after sunset it appears, the sooner will its fulfilment be. I should perhaps lay stress upon the fact that these ghostly lights are not seen by a single individual at a time, but often by many—for example, by the children of a school, or by a small company of persons walking together.

Whilst the school of the parish, where at the time I was clergyman, was being built, a man told the builder that the parish would have small service from the new house, for he had seen it burning before it was completed. However, nearly thirty years have passed since then, and I think the building is still standing.

The following tale was related to me by a very trustworthy and coolheaded farmer, who never touched spirits. "Before my marriage I was, as you know, gamekeeper to the squire. One evening in summertime, I and the herdsman were walking together in the fields as the sun was setting. I no longer remember what we talked about, but suddenly looking up, I exclaimed, 'Gracious God! what is this?' for I saw the manor-house on fire. Flames ran along the ridge of the house, and smoke in dense clouds surrounded it. The herdsman made the discovery at the same moment and began shouting out, while both of us ran for our lives. Neither of us had insured his small property, and nobody, as you know, likes to lose his few chattels. We ran with all our might, but on looking up a short time afterwards we

noticed that the sight had totally vanished ; it was after all only a 'fore-warning.' But I cannot tell you how terrified we both were."

Here the farmer's tale ends. I wrote it down instantly on my return home, and it is remarkable among the many others that I have heard for the clearness and conviction with which it was told.

I will repeat one other person's story as follows. "I was a grown-up boy at the time and had just left school. Our village had no watchman, and every night from November 1st to April 1st we watched by turns. So it happened that the son of our neighbour Peter and I were one night watching ; towards day-break I discovered a great fire south of the village. I called my companion and we took to our heels and ascended a low hill. For it was impossible to see anything where we had been standing, the rising ground on which the church was situated being in the way. But from the hill we saw everything clearly. There were large flakes of fire flying about, but we could not make out where they came from. Considering the direction, it seemed that the neighbouring village of Mejn must be on fire, so we resolved to call up the villagers. I ran to Mr. Thomsen's and stood looking at the fire, kicking with my heels at his door. 'What is the matter?' he cried. 'Mejn burns!' I answered, turning to the window. 'Hold thou thy peace, man,' said he, that fire will do no harm.' I turned round from the window, and lo ! the night was dark as before."

Fate is relentless, its decree cannot be gainsaid. Nevertheless, a threatened fire may be postponed by various means, and generations may pass before it happens. Here are some instances which could easily be multiplied.

A maid-servant, named Maren Björn, was some years ago in the employment of a farmer of Lindeballe. She was able to see hidden things ; she would go to the church on New Year's Eve, between seven and nine, to look for coming events. One of these evenings, whilst she was standing as onlooker at the different ghostly bridal and funeral processions, the "forewarnings" of things to come, she suddenly discovered that the farmhouse, where she was in service, was on fire. She walked leisurely up to the house, and plucking a handful of straw from the eaves—farm-houses in the country being usually thatched—she silently carried it into the kitchen and threw it in the fire on the hearth. People were very curious to hear what she had seen and what was the



meaning of her strange behaviour. So she told them of the warning, and explained that so many single straws as she had plucked from the eaves and burned, so many years must pass before the fire would really happen. Still, it is said to be useless to pull out above a hundred single straws, for Fate does not care to wait more than a hundred years ! (Told by a country teacher of Give.)

The technical term for such artifices is, to put the fire away, *at sætte ilden hen*. How it is done I am unable at present to explain ; but tales abound of fire being put away in very heterogeneous places or things, or of immunity from fire being attached to the life of persons or trees. A few tales will convey more information than long explanations.

The parsonage of Sönder-Felding was seen burning ; but it was only a forewarning. The clergyman there "knew somewhat more than the Lord's prayer," and put the threatened fire away into one of those red peasants' bonnets (shaped like a Phrygian cap) which in my youth were worn by nearly all elderly farmers, though now-a-days very seldom seen. It was hanging on a peg in the hall, and as long as it remained there undisturbed no fire could touch the house ; were it removed the house must burn. Time wore on and the old bonnet remained quietly on its peg for years. Then the old clergyman died, and a new one arrived. He liked not to see the dusty, moth-eaten bonnet and was going to take it away, but the bailiff cautioned him against doing so, and it was allowed to remain. Again death came ; the old caution was forgotten, the red bonnet was taken away by the new clergyman, and before the year was out the parsonage was burned down. (Told by the country teacher, Mr. E. T. Kristensen, folklorist.)

A personal friend of mine, Mr. P. Flöe, inspector of water-courses in West Jutland, has told me of a farmhouse called Styg, in the parish of Lönborg. The fire which had been forewarned was put away as long as the farmer's wife was living. Shortly after her death the house burned. Another curious instance he related of a farmhouse on Holmslands Klit. There the fire was put away until the owner's invalid daughter was married. In spite of her infirmity she grew up and was married ; but as she stepped out of the church with the bridal procession she saw, on looking towards home, that fire and smoke were pouring from the house.

Near Hadersley is a small village, Styding, which can never be ruined by fire. Years ago a man passing the village saw the "forewarning," and put the fire away into a rivulet in the neighbourhood. So long as there is one drop of water left the village cannot be set on fire.

As far as I know fire has most commonly been put away into trees. In another village near Hadersley, called Steppinge, there stands a very tall beech, called "the king's beech." As soon as that tree, which may be seen afar off, comes to be felled, a large farm, Andrussgaard, will burn. The owner once tried his axe on the tree, but at the first stroke sparks and fire were seen flying from the chimney top, and a man was despatched, riding at full speed, to stop the felling.¹

In Felsted, Middle-Sleswick, a very old oak is said still to be seen. It is decaying, and wooden plugs and patches of hemp often come into view. By means of these plugs fire is put away into the tree. Falling branches are never used as fuel but left to decay where they fall.²

How far this superstition is spread I am unable to tell; it is known in Norway, where the forewarning is called a "fire-sign," and is put off by giving alms to the poor;³ it is known in Germany;⁴ and I have been told that in England and in Italy such fiery forewarnings are heard of, but I can quote no literary instances.

I may add, before proceeding, that I went out to inquire how matters stand at the present time, and questioned students at the large Peasants' High School in our near neighbourhood. They are mostly farmers' children, young men and women between eighteen and twenty-five years. Some of them knew nothing, had never heard about such ghostly warnings; others, I think, mostly persons from out-of-the-way parts of the country, answered instantly in the affirmative. None of them had seen anything themselves, but they had often heard tales about fire-forewarning as well as of corpse-lights, ghostly funeral parties and so on. In the afternoon I dropped in on an old couple, retired farmers, putting the same question. Neither of them had ever seen anything them-

¹ The two last stories are told by Mr. Kristensen.

² Mullenhoff, *Sagen*, p. 570.

³ Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 311.

⁴ Wuttke, *Abergla*, pp. 359, 422.

selves ; but as the conversation was turning on such things the old man, past seventy, told me of a tree standing where the road turns to the watermill in the neighbouring village. As soon as that is cut down the mill will burn. In all this there is a great difference since my youth, when there was a kind of religious belief in these things. They have now become survivals, where they are still found, and belong to the curiosity shop and will soon be forgotten. Politics, journals, meetings, public discourses on seed-work or dairy-work fill the minds, and the shrill whistle of the locomotive scares away the misty spectres of former times.

But, to proceed. Next come the Corpse Candles, which as far as I know have not so often been mentioned as the fire-fore-warnings, treasure-lights, and the Jack o' lantern. Still, there are not a few tales of them too. If a person in a house is ill, his death is forewarned by a light. It may be seen during the night slowly gliding from the house to the gate of the churchyard and along the church-road, which very often is not the common road, but that by which funeral processions pass. If a corpse candle be small, but red and bright, it is that of a child ; the candle of a grown up man or woman is larger but paler, and that of an aged person is blue. Sometimes death in a house is forewarned by corpse-flames, the part of the house in which a person is to die being, so to say, enveloped in light, glowing. Still it is different from fire-warnings, these latter producing sparks and flames, the corpse-flames only a bright, quiet light. Some say the earlier after sunset the forewarning is seen the sooner it will be fulfilled, such hour of night corresponding to a year. Others tell that the candle stays, not at the churchyard door, but can be seen quietly burning on the grave all night.

I will note down a tale or two.

It was New Year's Eve in 1851, between 7 and 8 o'clock, and the farmer, Kristen Lavrsen of Farre, in the parish of Give in Jutland, had just returned from the churchyard, where he always went that evening to look for coming events. His wife asked him, "Is anybody to die in our village this year ?" "Yes," he answered, "one person will die." "Young or old ?" "Old." Towards spring the man fell ill and his wife feared he might have seen his own corpse-candle. But another man, Ole Kristensen died. I remember it well ; his burial day was April 4th, and Kristen Lavrsen was so well that day that he was able to go out

to take a look at the funeral procession. His wife again asked if the procession he had seen on the eve of New Year was this one. "No," he answered, "another must come." Later on, in autumn, the wife of Hans Jakobsen died, and on returning from seeing her burial party, Kristen Lavrsen declared it was that party whose forewarning he had seen on New Year's Eve. Being asked by his son how he was able to discern whether the person whose death he saw foreshadowed was young or old, he said that a light or candle always accompanied the coffin. That of an old person advances slowly and quietly, that of a young person frisks and hops up and down and is restless.

Another man relates : "In the evening, as I was returning home from a visit, I clearly saw a small light slowly and quietly advancing from my own house across the moor and the meadow up towards the church. I took it for a corpse-candle, but thought nevertheless that it went a very curious way to church. Well, a week or two passed and a small foster-child we had died. Snow having fallen copiously on the day she was to be buried we decided upon her being carried by four men across the moor to the church, and they took just that same path by which I had seen the lights advancing."

A light of this kind must never be touched. A man was one evening passing the small wood eastwards of Trunderup, when, seeing a ghostly light burning, he walked up to it and struck at it with his stick. He was unable to proceed and got away only with great difficulty. Even then he was marked, his mouth having been pulled away towards one of his ears, and it was a long time before he recovered.

Lights may be seen coming also from the sea. The smith from Husby, a small village situated near the North Sea, told me that he and his mother (he was at that time a grown-up boy) saw seven lights advancing at short intervals along the road leading from the downs to the churchyard. Shortly afterwards a ship was wrecked and seven persons were drowned and carried by this same road to their last resting-place. I have still another example in mind. A malignant scarlatina having broken out in one of the western parishes, many children died, and during the night small lights were seen burning everywhere in the churchyard. On one grave, where three small children were buried, three lights were seen standing.



I now pass to another kind of ghostly lights. Those hitherto mentioned gave warning of deaths and burials soon to come. But there are others which burn, nay, "stand," that is the word, from generation to generation, and are seen in the same place first by one person, then by another, at any time of the year proclaiming that something shall happen; nobody knows when or what. In the neighbourhood of the village where I have lived for years was a pretty large rivulet. It had a ford which was sometimes dangerous to pass when the tide was in; still it was often used because it saved making a long circuit. At that very ford a light had been "standing," seen by many, for generations. During one of the last years of my being in office a very sad accident occurred; a young farmer was crossing the ford on horseback when, somehow or other, the horse lost its footing and the young man was drowned. Some days later I happened to walk from the railway station to my home in company with an elderly carpenter. Our conversation turned at once on the sad event of the last few days; and my companion, who had been working in the village beyond the river, told me how it had come to pass. People had warned the man most earnestly against taking the ford, but it was all in vain. He was so eager to go that he would hardly give time to get some dinner; it seemed as if he must go—well, there was his place; what must happen will happen! So the man finished his tale, expressing that decided belief in fatality that I have so often witnessed among the aged members of my congregation. But after this accident the light was seen burning no more.¹

Tales about lights of this kind are exceedingly common; but if

¹ Is this a case of a river-spirit demanding a human victim? One is reminded of the legend connected with the inexorable Peg o' Nell, the evil genius of the Ribble, as it is written in Henderson's *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, 1879, p. 265. Every seven years she demanded a life, and when "Peg's night" came round, "unless a bird, or cat, or a dog was drowned in the stream, some human being was certain to fall a victim there. Accordingly on one anniversary of the fatal evening a young man rode down to an adjoining inn on the way from Waddington to Clitheroe. No bridge then spanned the river at Brangerley; passengers crossed it at the ford, but it was so swollen on this occasion as to be unsafe. The young man was told of this, but he said . . . he must go on. The host and hostess tried hard to dissuade him from his purpose, while the maid added, 'And it's Peg o' Nell's night, and she has not had her life.' The traveller laughed and set off, but neither horse nor rider reached the opposite bank." M.R.C.

you want to learn the people's belief you must live among them and with them, or you will learn nothing at all. Ghostly lights are seen burning by marl-pits, ditches, horseponds, rivers, lakes, everywhere. Sometimes they have been "standing" longer than the memory of man, burning night after night, perhaps oftenest discovered on the eve of one of the greatest festivals of the year. They wait patiently till the accident has happened ; then they are extinguished and there is an end of it. Fate's decree has been fulfilled.

Others do not forewarn, like those of which I have spoken, but they mark the place of a bloody or evil deed, or the grave of a bad man or woman. I select one instance among many. On a certain hill in North Sleswick three candles are seen burning a fortnight before and a fortnight after St. Michael's day, September 29. During one moment they burn quietly, the next they attack each other, and rush about so quickly that the eye cannot follow their movements. Afterwards they again become quiet for some time. The tallest light is always seen in the middle, the two others are smaller. People tell that a father and his two sons were mowing when a disagreement arose and they got to blows. The scythes came into play and they all lost their lives. They were buried in the hill and the father's light is the tallest. The lights, I think, are the restless souls of the deceased that must wait till redemption comes. This seems to be evident when I compare the tales. Lights are seen where small murdered children lie in unconsecrated ground, where self-murderers, perjurors, robbers, and witches are buried, and I do not remember ever having heard of lights of this kind having vanished.

Before I proceed to the "treasure-lights" there are still some belonging to the "forewarning" kind, which I must mention. They have no evil signification and are spoken of very commonly. Some years ago, shortly after the new railway between Ribe and Bramminge had been opened, I was one day waiting for the train in company with some farmers. Conversation was flagging ; so, remembering what I had been told some years before at a christening party, I asked, " Didn't you ever see fiery forewarnings of this line ? " Before a word had been spoken about that other railway an elderly farmer told me that he had seen strange lights rush past his house at a wonderful speed accompanied by a long protracted din. Afterwards when the trains began running he at

once understood what he had seen. I had hardly introduced this topic before I got one tale after another. John, Tom, and many others had seen exactly similar things where the southward line some years later had been established. Yesterday I went to see our clockmaker, a farmer's son from the north, and told him that I was trying to classify the different kinds of ghostly lights of which there are so many tales. "Well," he answered, "don't forget to put in those which are seen burning where a house is to be built, a well sunk, or a pit dug. I certainly have not seen them; still I have been told many stories about them." That is just it. There may be forewarning lights connected with all sorts of things, however trivial, to be done outside the house. Still, I think, it is always something that is dug or built that is forewarned.

Nearly as wide-spread as the above-mentioned superstition is that of "treasure-lights"—I have no better name for them. They are seen burning on many a hill on the ancient sites of castles, or on ruins. It is commonly said that where a light burns something is hidden,—perhaps an evil deed, perhaps a treasure. Merely to name some of the many places where lights of this kind are seen would afford little interest to foreign readers. I shall therefore relate instead one of the more out-of-the-way tales of treasure-digging. A farmer, returning one night from a visit, discovered a light burning and knew at once that a treasure must there be hidden. So, being more clever than others, he hastened home to get the necessary working tools. Without speaking a word or answering a question, he returned with these to the wood, where he again found the place of the burning light and began digging, while a couple of ravens made a dreadful noise. And the deeper he dug the more turbulent the ravens became; and when his spade at last pushed against a trunk the ravens attacked him, striking him with their wings, till he exclaimed in terror: "Christ be gracious to me, they are going to crush my head!" Instantly the trunk disappeared, and the ravens desisting from their importunity took flight to a neighbouring tree, where they sat croaking: "Now you may seek the treasure in another wood." Besides this we have here quite the same incidents as we find in other countries; lights burning on mounds where underground-people live with their treasure; chests heard opening and closing on Christmas night, or other festivals of the church; mounds raised on pillars and fairies seen dancing beneath; many

persons trying to dig, but nearly always in vain, for they are scared away, or are induced to speak by all kinds of dreadful or ludicrous sights whereupon the treasure vanishes and sinks, and the diggers must go home empty-handed, often ill or with broken health.

Well, these treasure-fires have, I think, a special interest, because here is one of those cases in which a community between ancient and modern folk-belief can be traced. In *Grettis Saga*, ch. 18, we read that Grettir, returning late one night, saw a large fire burning on the headland northward from the house of Audùn. Grettir asked what was going on there. Audùn answered, it would be of no interest for him to learn. "People would say," Grettir replied, "if a sight like that were seen in my country, that a treasure was hidden where that fire burns." Grettir learns what he wants to know, digs out the mound, conquers the ghost, and lifts the treasure. Much grander is the saga about Hervor, who, disguised as a man, disembarks on Samsö, where she asks her way of a shepherd to the mounds of the buried berserker. He tries to dissuade her from going; "nobody can remain after sunset outside his house;" but she does not yield. When the sun has set a din is heard from the mounds; flames (*hauga-eldr*) are blazing; and the shepherd flees without looking back. But Hervor goes to the mounds, and sees the mound-dweller standing outside, while she fearlessly wades through the fire as through smoke till she comes to the graves of berserker.¹

To this day the fires are called "vafurlogi, málmlogi," in Iceland; beyond that the scenery is very much changed.

The Will-o'-the-Wisp I shall only just mention. He certainly belongs also to the ghostly fires. I think we have all the common incidents here, too. He is the soul of an unrighteous surveyor, or of an unbaptized, murdered child. He is sometimes courteous, and on dark nights lights wanderers home for a penny or two, but often plays pranks, leading belated wanderers astray, and so on. Especially dangerous is it to point at him; whoever does so cannot avoid losing his way. I will only add what I was told the day before yesterday, that an old herdsman who had often seen "Jack," and knew all his evil tricks, seeing him one evening in

¹ *Hervarar Saga*, p. 14, edit. 1847.

the neighbouring moor, caught hold of the handle of the stable-door with his left hand, pointing at him with his right, triumphantly exclaiming, "Well, Jack, I should like you to try and lead me astray this time!"

But now the main question arises, How are these lights to be explained? Do they only possess an imaginary existence in the eyes and minds of those persons who see them, or is there any kind of reality lurking behind the superstition? I put aside cases of defective observation. I know of one, for instance, where the reflection from a lighthouse on the church windows caused the belief that ghostly lights were kindled nightly in the church. Another case my old herdsman explained to me. He had seen many of those lights, and knew them well; nevertheless, he too, along with others, had been deceived. For many years the folks of our village had seen a light "standing" beyond the sea on the neighbouring isle of Fanö. It was found to be due to the reflection of the setting sun in the pane of a window. I also eliminate cases of belated wanderers carrying lanterns, and those wherein wilful deception is employed. Yet I think that many cases will remain where cool-headed, trustworthy men have seen lights, either single or by the hundred, flames on houses, lights on hills or on stones—what of all those? I at least have not been able to tell my farmer friends to their faces: "You deceive yourselves, there is nothing whatever real in what you relate." One of our eminent men, the deceased Professor Forchhammer, once said in a discourse: "Men of the people mostly make just observations, but as often explain fantastically or superstitiously." Being himself, as far as I know, a son of the people (he was an eminent chemist and geologist), his words have for me had a certain weight. Applying Mr. Forchhammer's maxim to the question before us, I should be inclined to say some phenomenon of light has been seen, and has been interpreted as forewarnings, treasure-lights, and so on, by people in whom all the old, old superstitions, or, if you prefer the old religious beliefs of heathenism, are still living. I know very well that the scientific reality of Mr. Jack-o'-Lantern has been doubted. A remark, somewhat wide, may perhaps not be amiss. Students of chemistry and electricity commonly assemble in towns or at universities, and see but little of what may be observed in woods, moors, heaths, and marshes by persons day and night on the move, such as farmers, herdsmen,

hunters, or others in the open air. In a scientific journal the question was raised as to the existence of Jack-o'-Lantern (*Lygtemænd*), and some well-observed cases were advanced, one of which, communicated by a country teacher, I relate, as throwing some light on "fire-forewarnings." In 1889, a farmer, Lars Hansen, and his wife, were returning from a visit on Shrove Monday. Walking leisurely along, they observed a light moving northwards towards them, and thought it was the lantern of some belated wanderer. Suddenly the light stopped, blazed up, and vanished; but near by at the same moment flames were seen bursting out from the roof, or the house-ridge, of Mr. H. Petersen's farm. The wife of Lars Hansen, being anxious about her husband's absence—for he would, of course, be obliged to go to the place where the fire was—began to complain at being left alone at home. The flames were seen above the northern range of the building, perhaps for a length of about 6 or 8 yards. The couple having by now reached their home, had no time, however, to give the alarm of fire before the flames, suddenly disappearing from the farm, were seen advancing as a great light northwards. This is possibly a case, I suppose, of some electric phenomenon, a kind of St. Elmo lights. Others may have to do with ignited marsh gases. And one must not omit mention either of that species of lichen (*byssus phosphorea*, L.), which gives light in darkness, and seems to have been, in more than one instance, the origin of the belief that treasures are found in hills and below large boulders.

This is one side of the question; as to the other, why some of the superstitions above related should have been associated with the phenomena of light I have at present no answer whatever to offer.

H. F. FEILBERG.

Askov, Vejen, Denmark,
February 28, 1895.

THE GARHWAL, AN INDIAN HARVEST CEREMONY.

(Vol. v. p. 351.)

The account given reminds me of the ceremony which takes place at ~~the~~ ^{the} time in the cathedral at Florence when the sliding

of an imitation dove along a cord and its safe arrival at the end augurs a good harvest.

Would some one who has seen this Florentine custom, or who has access to accurate accounts of it, be able to draw parallels between the Indian and Italian ceremonies?

The words in quotation marks on p. 351, "rather like an angel," suggest that the man in white typifies the descent of a blessing from above, much as the dove does.

LUCY E. BROADWOOD.

[Compare the Garhwal with the ceremony, also Indian, referred to *supra*, p. 207. The two ceremonies seem to be the same, and there can be little doubt that they are both relics of human sacrifice, whatever the Florentine custom may be.—E. S. H.]

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT TEETH.

(Vol. vi. p. 86.)

It is said here that you will have to find all your teeth at the day of judgment. But if, when you pull a tooth out, you put salt upon it, throw it into the fire and say :

Good tooth, bad tooth,
Pray God send me a good tooth,

you will not have to find it at the judgment day.

Sheffield.

C. R. HIRST.

This superstition is current in Wakefield and Sheffield and also in the north of Derbyshire. It is of old standing.

S. O. ADDY.

In answer to a query on page 86, Why it is necessary to put into a man's coffin the teeth he shed during his lifetime, I suggest that if the teeth were not put in, the man would in his new life be incomplete. This is put definitely in De la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, i. 127, where it is said that the Indians preserve nail-pairings and hair, placing them in holes or niches of the wall; and, if possible, spit in one place, in order that when the souls rise out of their tombs, with all that belonged to them, they may not have to search for these. Elaborate directions for disposal of bone and nail-pairings are given in the *Zend Avesta* (*Trans. S. B. E.*, ii. 186 ff.).

W. H. D. ROUSE.

FOLKLORE OBJECTS FROM ARGYLESHERE.

CORP CHRE.

(Vol. vi. p. 144.)

A belief in this form of witchcraft still survives among the dwellers in the Bog of Ardee, near the village of that name, in co. Louth. These people, who are very poor, and rather looked down on by their neighbours as being "wild" and ignorant, were formerly, and perhaps are still, in the habit of working this charm in quarrels among themselves, which are frequent and bitter. Only a few years ago a case in which one woman tried to kill another by this means was brought to light in the police court at Ardee.

The details of "burying the sheaf" as it is termed are difficult to obtain; but, as far as I have been able to discover, they are as follows. The person working the charm first goes to the chapel and says certain prayers with his back to the altar; then he takes a sheaf of wheat, which he fashions like the human body, sticking pins in the joints of the stems and (according to one account) shaping a heart of plaited straw. This sheaf he buries in the name of the devil near the house of his enemy, who he believes will gradually pine away as the sheaf decays, dying when it finally decomposes. If the operator of the charm wishes his enemy to die rapidly he buries the sheaf in wet ground where it will soon decay; but if, on the other hand, he desires his victim to linger in pain he chooses a dry spot where decomposition will be slow.

In the case alluded to above it is said that the woman who worked the charm was discovered by the relatives of her victim, who was ill, coming by night to pour water on the sheaf to hasten its decay.

Burying the sheaf of wheat is mentioned as being practised in Westmeath in *The Dead-Watchers and other Folk-tales*, by Patrick Bardan, in which details are given of a procedure slightly different from the one I have described; but I have not the book with me here, and so cannot refer to it.

Red House, Ardee, co. Louth.

BRYAN J. JONES.

PUZZLE.

(Vol. vi. p. 159.)

Dr. Maclagan kindly forwards the following corrected directions



for making and putting together the puzzle described in his notes, and exhibited at the meeting of the 20th February last.

From Miss E. Kerr, Port Charlotte, Islay.

To make the Coirlegheilc.—Take six pieces of wood, each about three inches long by half an inch square. Take two of them, and from the centres make a half check half an inch in length and quarter of an inch deep towards one of the ends.

Measure from the centres, a quarter of an inch towards the other ends, and from there make a half check a quarter of an inch long by a quarter of an inch deep. Clean the checks carefully, and laying the two pieces of wood with the cut surfaces together they will be found to correspond, and form two rectangular spaces, one half an inch square toward the one end from the centre, and the other a quarter of an inch long by half an inch across with a quarter of an inch of wood between the two spaces.

Take another piece, and on its centre cut a half check an inch long and a quarter deep. Place this piece, with uncut side downwards, in the smaller space of the other two pieces.

Take two other pieces and cut a half check in each one inch long by a quarter inch deep, put the cut surfaces together and laying them flat, cut as it were at right angles to the space formed on the centre of the pieces of wood, a half check half an inch long by a quarter of an inch deep. Taking up the three pieces previously fitted together, put the thinnest part of the wood of pieces 4 and 5 into the spaces left on either side of Nos. 1 and 2 in No. 3, the small checks upwards and the larger checks toward Nos. 1 and 2.

These 5 pieces now form a cross with a square hole in the centre, the single piece of wood forming a guide into hole. Now pass the sixth piece through the hole, and a complete cross with six points will be formed.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND SUPERSTITIONS
OF THE LEWIS.

(Vol vi. p. 162.)

The Rev. Malcolm MacPhail desires to say that he does not wish to make himself responsible for the statements (*supra*, p. 167)

that the sacrifice of a black cock is *still* practised in the Lewis, and that a black cock was actually sacrificed in Uig two years before his notes were written. He is not aware that the cure for toothache (p. 168) is *still* performed. He has ascertained that the vermin porridge (p. 169) was used for exorcising the vermin from the wall of the sheiling during its occupation in summer. In the Gaelic sentence on p. 165, for *thugain* read *cur thugainn*.

CHARMS.

(Vol. vi. p. 202.)

Charming was very common in my present parish, and is still. There were several people whom I know who used to charm. The following is a copy of a real charm, written by a man who lives near me, for the use of one of my churchwardens, but which, I think, he never used, and it somehow or other came into my hands. "As Peter stood at the gates of Jerusalem Jesus said unto him Why standest thou here and he said My teeth do ache and Jesus said unto him Whosoever carrieth these lines about them or beareth them in memory shall never have the tooth ache any more In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost Amen and Amen so be it according to thy faith." Very unfortunately a number of old charms which were once in the possession of this man have been lost. I will some day see whether he can give me, or rather *will*, as they are often very tenacious of these secrets, some of those which he remembers. This same man, a wheelwright and a very good religious man, gave me the following, some time ago. It is used in Herefordshire. "A man to go and cut a notch at 12 o'clock at night on the top rail of a gate for nine nights, on the last a woman will appear (his future wife), he must hand her the knife and she will cut the 9th notch."

Llanigon, Radnorshire.

W. E. T. MORGAN.

THRESHOLD CUSTOMS.

In this neighbourhood, and, I think, everywhere in Yorkshire, it is the custom amongst poor people to draw the letter S in the sand upon the threshold when they sand the floor. Can it be the first letter of SALVE, or is it related to the prehistoric serpentine marks? Is it found elsewhere than in Yorkshire?

Sheffield.

SIDNEY O. ADDY.

MISCELLANEA.

WORCESTERSHIRE SUPERSTITIONS.

I HAVE a maid well up in Worcestershire superstitions. The following are new to me, though you may have met with them.

E. J. LADBURY.

Goldness, Hartlebury, near Kidderminster.

If you have borrowed salt, it is unlucky to return any in the place of it.

In preparing needlework, never "place it" with a *black* pin, or that piece of work will never be finished.

To say good-bye over a stile brings bad luck.

To say good-bye at cross-roads foretells that you will be parted from your friends.

If four persons cross arms when shaking hands, one of the four will shortly be married.

FOLKTALES.

Ashey Pelt.

The following tale was told me by a woman now living, a native of Ulster, aged about sixty :—

Well, my grandmother she told me that in them auld days a ewe might be your mother. It is a very lucky thing to have a black ewe. A man married again, and his daughter, Ashey Pelt, was unhappy. She cried alone, and the black ewe came to her from under the greystone in the field and said, "Don't cry, go and find a rod behind the stone and strike it three times, and whatever you want will come." So she did as she was bid. She

wanted to go to a party. Dress and horses and all came to her, but she was bound to be back before twelve o'clock or all the enchantment would go, all she had would vanish. The sisters they did na' like her; she was so pretty, and the step-mother she kept her in wretchedness just.

She was most lovely. At the party the Prince fell in love with her, and she forgot to get back in time. In her speed a-running she dropped her *silk* slipper, and he sent and he went over all the country to find the lady it wad fit. When he came to Ashey Pelt's door he did not see her. The sisters was busy a-nipping and a-clipping at their feet to get on the silk slipper, for the king's son he had given out that he loved that lady sae weel he wad be married on whaever could fit on that slipper.

The sisters they drove Ashey Pelt out bye to be out of the road, and they bid her mind the cows. They pared down their feet till one o' them could just squeeze it on. But she was in the quare agony I'm telling you.

So off they rode away; but when he was passing the field the voice of the auld ewe cried on him to stop, and she says, says she—

“ Nippet foot, and clipper foot
Behind the king's son rides,
But bonny foot, and pretty foot
Is with the cathering hides.”

So he rode back and found her among the cows, and he married her, and if they lived happy, so may you and me.

The Three Golden Balls.

Told by a young woman, a native of Romsey, aged about 21.

There was once an old woman who lived with her husband and her three little daughters. One was named Pepper, one Salt, and one Mustard. One day their father told them he was going to the fair, and he asked them what he should bring them home, and they all said, “A golden ball each.” Their father then wished them good-bye, and set off. In the evening he returned, and brought each of them a golden ball, which they got up early next morning to play with. Their mother told them that if they lost them she would hang them up on the gallows-tree. They were very happy playing, when little Pepper began to cry. Her

sisters asked her what was the matter, and she told them she had lost her ball. They dared not go home because of their mother.

But, alas ! it got so late that they went home. Their mother, seeing that little Pepper was crying, asked what ailed her ; and she said, " I have lost my ball." And the mother, in her anger, hung her up on the gallows-tree. Next day the father went to her, and she said—

" Oh, father, have you found my ball,
Or have you paid my fee,
Or have you come to take me down
From this old gallows-tree ? "

And he replied—

" I have not found your golden ball,
Nor have I paid your fee,
Nor have I come to take you down
From this old gallows-tree ."

Bye-and-bye her two sisters came to see her, and she said—

" Oh, sisters, have you found my ball,
Or have you paid my fee,
Or have you come to take me down
From this old gallows-tree ? "

And they made the very same answer as the father had given.

So poor little Pepper had to stop there all night. The next day brought her better luck. Her sweetheart came to see her, and she asked—

" Oh, Charlie ! have you found my ball ? " &c., &c.

and he replied—

" 'Tis I have found your golden ball,
And I have paid your fee,
And I am come to take you down
From this old gallows-tree ."

Then her sweetheart cut her down, and they were changed into two little birds. Soon after her father came and heard two little voices up in the tree asking—

" Oh, father ! have you found my ball," &c., &c.

On hearing this, the father ran away very frightened ; and his wicked wife and two little daughters came against the tree, and heard the little voices say the same words. All of a sudden they

heard a great rustling of leaves, and looking up, they saw the forms of little Pepper and her sweetheart flying to the ground. And they all went home, and lived a great many years.

M. DAMANT.

Lammas, Cowes, I. of Wight.

IRISH FOLKTALES.

A little book, entitled “*Siamsa an gheimhrídh*: Sports of the Winter or Beside the Hearth in Iar-Connacht; Stories, poems, songs, riddles, &c., gathered by Donald O’Faherty” (pp. 144, Patrick O’Brien, Dublin), was published in 1892; and, although somewhat late in the day, a brief notice of its contents may be of assistance to those on the outlook for “parallels.” There are here given in Irish the following tales:—

P. 5. *Seul Dheirdre* (Story of Deirdre).—This is a very close parallel to Mr. Larminie’s “King Mananawn” (*West Irish Tales*, p. 64) from Achill. Another parallel is “Gilla na Grakin and Fin Mac Cumhail” (Curtin’s *Irish Myths*, p. 244). The characters here are: a son of the King of Ireland (unnamed); Murcha (the hero), who, with the king’s son, is serving his time with a smith, Mananán; and Deirdre ni Manannain, the daughter of the smith. As in Mr. Larminie’s tale there is a quarrel in the smithy, and the king’s son is to have the “first blow without defence out of Ireland.” They depart by two doors, Deirdre following Murcha. They meet Finn, who asks Murcha to go with him, and Deirdre’s consent is obtained by her being seen while she is combing her hair, when she cannot refuse. Then come the incidents in which Murcha obtains food, &c., from the enemy. On their way back the king’s son meets them, has his blow, and kills Murcha. Deirdre takes the body to an isle, where Murcha is restored by a bottle of healing. He fights and kills certain foes, the Hag of the Feather Pot, and a cat who afterwards attacks him. He and Deirdre return, meet the king’s son, who is then slain. The story contains a sailing “run” twice repeated.

P. 23. *Diarmuid Súgach* (Merry Diarmuid).—On Hallowe’en Diarmuid rescues from the fairies the daughter of the King of Leinster. She is in a deep sleep till that night year, when he overhears the fairies say she can be awakened by removing a

slumber pin from her hair. He does so, and restores her to her father. They marry and return to Connemara, and there are those who say that the blood of the Kings of Leinster still runs in their veins.

This is a variant of a well-known tale, Dr. Hyde's "Guleesh," &c.

P. 46. *The Lioprachán*.—A tale of a lioprachawn captured by a man in the hope of getting money out of him. The treasure not being forthcoming he is locked in a box and so kept for twenty-one years, each seventh year letting a laugh out of him. In the end the man's curiosity gets the better of him and he insists on knowing why he laughed. He is told, and when he hears that the third laugh was caused by the lioprachawn seeing a man steal his hidden store of money he goes crazy.

P. 51. *Cailleac na n-adharc* (The Horned Hags).—A variant of Lady Wilde's tale. There is, however, an important point here in that when the woman goes to the well she knocks her hand against a stone, which she curses. "Don't say that," replies the stone, "I am your mother, who came before you to give you advice." She then tells her how to get rid of her unwelcome visitors.

P. 60. *Leaduidhe na luaithe* (Ashypet).—Boy lies in the ashes till he is twenty. Fills seven acres around him with the ashes he shakes from himself. Takes service with a king and kills three giants, obtaining sword of light, hero's robe, and steed. Rescues the king's daughter from an ollpheist, the monster being unable to pass a boundary he cuts on the ground with the sword of light. The beast is slain and he takes its tongue. King offers his daughter to the man who will produce the tongue. Courtiers bring calves' tongues, but at last the Leaduidhe comes and the princess recognises him by the hair she had cut from his head. "She married him and the other people went away."

P. 81. *An bheirt dhearbh Rathar* (The Two Brothers).—A story of the Hudden and Dudden type. The poor brother's wife journeys to hell and finally obtains a gift from Satan, while the rich brother and his wife on the same errand perish miserably.

P. 116. *An Chailleach Bheura*.—A translation of this is given by Professor Kuno Meyer, on pp. 132, &c., of *The Vision of Mac Conglinne* (Nutt, London, 1892). The second line of her Doings should, however, read, "She did not eat *but* when she was hungry."

There are besides several shorter pieces: "The Tale of the Wren," "The Legend of the Dardaol" (which is said to have assisted the Jews in the taking of Our Lord), &c., and many riddles and charms. The whole has been gathered in Iar-Connacht, and on p. 140 is a list of the persons from whom the various tales, &c., were obtained. The book is printed in Irish character, and contains a short vocabulary giving the English of uncommon words.

LELAND L. DUNCAN.

IRISH FOLKLORE RELATING TO CHURCHES.

About a quarter of a century ago I was walking in the nave of York Minster, when a respectably dressed Irish working-man came up to me and entered into conversation. He had probably ascertained by some means with which I am unacquainted that I am a Catholic. After making some remarks which have left no impression on my mind, he said: "I have been told, sir, that there is one old door in this church that is always kept shut, because nobody except one of our priests can open it—do you know anything about it?" I said I had never heard the story before, but that I would make inquiries. I have mentioned the subject to several of my Yorkshire friends. The tale was, however, quite new to them.

An Irish peasant woman who now lives in England told me some four or five years ago, in a manner which indicated that she felt well assured of the truth of what she reported, that in one of the old churches in Dublin, now in the hands of Protestants, there is preserved a Catholic holy-water stoup. "The ministers of the church," she said, "had long been anxious to get rid of it, and had had it many times carried out of the church, but it was always found back again in its old place the next morning."

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Dunstan House, Kirton-in-Lindsey.

OBITUARY.

CHARLES PLOIX.

WE regret to have to record the death, at the age of seventy, on the 21st February last, of M. Charles-Martin Ploix, President of the Société des Traditions Populaires, and to offer, though somewhat late, our fraternal sympathy with our French comrades in the loss they have sustained. M. Ploix was a man of considerable distinction in his profession—that of marine engineering—and of intellectual sympathies that reached far beyond his professional studies. Those of us who attended the International Folklore Congress of London have a vivid recollection of his fine presence and genial personality. His theories on the subject of mythology and folk-tales were not in favour in this country; but every one recognised his sincerity, and was touched by the devotion and eloquence with which he advocated them. The loss of his wife, who had long been in delicate health, some months before his death, left him with a feeling of desolation which perhaps rendered him an easier prey to the rigours of the last terrible winter. M. Ploix was a member of the Folk-Lore Society.

FRANÇOIS-MARIE LUZEL.

Breton folklore has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of M. Luzel, on the 26th February last, at the age of seventy-four. It is almost impossible to over-estimate his services in rescuing the folklore of his nation from the hands of romancers and poets. Far be it from us to undervalue poetry and romance. They are frequently among the highest and most valuable efforts of the human intellect; but when they are deliberately palmed off upon an unsuspecting public as the genuine products of the popular imagination, of which in reality they are only the bedizened and distorted presentment, it is time for all who have any regard for truth and any feeling for traditional poetry and humour

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PERIODICALS.

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- American Antiquarian**, xvii, 3, May. *S. D. Peet*, The Story of the Creation among the American Aborigines. A proof of prehistoric contact. *H. S. Halbert*, The Choctaw Robin Goodfellow.
- Antiquary**, xxxi, 6. *A. W. Moore*, Further Notes on Manx Folklore. *R. C. Hope*, Holy Wells of Scotland: their Legends and Superstitions.—7. *A. W. Moore*, Further Notes on Manx Folklore. *R. C. Hope*, Holy Wells of Scotland: their Legends and Superstitions.—8. *A. W. Moore*, Further Notes on Manx Folklore.
- Classical Review**, June. *F. B. Jevons*, Greek Burial Laws and Folklore.
- Journal of American Folklore**, viii, 29. *J. W. Powell*, The Interpretation of Folklore. *W. W. Newell*, Plantation Courtship. *J. N. B. Hewett*, The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul. *Zelia Nuttall*, A Note on Ancient Mexican Folklore. *J. Owen Dorsey*, Kwapa Folklore. *J. Walter Fewkes*, The Destruction of the Tusayan Monsters. *J. C. Fillmore*, What do Indians mean to do when they sing, and how far do they succeed? *L. Conant*, English Folk-Tales in America. *H. C. Bolton*, The Game of Goose.
- Nineteenth Century**, June. *E. F. Benson*, The Recent "Witch-Burning" at Clonmel.
- Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology**, xvii, 4. *P. Le Page Renouf*, The Book of the Dead, chaps. 117-123.
- Quarterly Review**, July. The Evil Eye.
- Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist**, i. 3. *Elías Owen*, Churchyard Games in Wales. *E. Lovell*, Astragals, or Dibbs: a curious survival.
- Bulletin de Folklore**, ii, 6. *A. de Cock et J. Karlowicz*, Contes I.: L'os qui Chante. *E. Monseur*, Contes IV.: Les questions. *E. Monseur*, Contes V.: Les musiciens de

Brême. *René Basset* and others, Contes VII.: Les deus bossus et les nains. *E. Étienne* and others, Contes IX.: Le Bonhomme Misère. *A. Harou*, *E. Monseur*, Coutumes I.: Les noces. *H. C. Boclinville*, *E. Monseur*, Béotiana. *E. Monseur*, Etres merveilleus II. : Les changelins.

Mélusine, vii, 9. *H. Gaidoz*, Pépin le-Bref, Samson et Mithra. *Th. Volkov*, La Fraternisation. *P. Laurent*, Chansons populaires de la Basse-Bretagne li.: La sône du jeune clerc. *J. Tuchmann*, La Fascination.

Revue des Traditions Populaires, x, 6. *Th. de Puymaigre*, La Bergère et le loup. *V. Bugiel*, Le droit coutumier des éleveurs d'abeilles en Samogitie. *P. Ristelhuber* and others, Légendes et curiosités des Métiers. *Julien Tiersot*, Balzac et la Chanson populaire. *G. D.*, Pont-Neuf. *René Basset*, Les Météores. *Albert Basset*, Traditions et superstitions annamites. *P. Sébillot*, Les écrivains français et les traditions populaires. *Daniel Bourchemin*, Chansons qu'on chante en Béarn. *A. Marguillier*, Les feux de la Saint-Jean. *R.-M. Lacuve*, Devinettes du Poitou. *J. Tiersot*, Mélodies populaires de l'Auvergne. *R. Pilet*, Traditions féroïennes. *R. Basset*, Les empreintes merveilleuses. *Morel-Retz*, Le coq et ses amis. *A. de Cock*, Les Pourquoi. *R. Basset*, Légendes et contes de l'Extrême-Orient. *V. Yastrebov* and *René Basset*, Les villes englouties. *Léon Collot*, Traditions et usages picards vers 1840. *R. Basset*, Un jeu marocain.

Archivio, xiv, 2. *R. Greco*, La favola degli abitatori del mare. *G. Meyer*, Il Cola-Pesce in Grecia. *St. Prato*, Le dodici parole della verità. *E. Martinengo-Cesaresco*, Adamo ed Eva. *B. Croce*, I Lazzari. *G. Crimi-Lo Giudice*, L'educazione della prole nel contado di Naso. *G. Bacci*, Usi e costumi dei contadini della Valdelsa. *F. Pulci*, Usi agrari della provincia di Caltanissetta. *G. Amalfi*, La festa di San Martino nel Napolitano. *Vid. Vuletic-Vukasovic*, La festa di Sa. Lucia in Dalmazia. *A. Humbert*, Feste popolari del Giappone. *G. Calvia*, Giuochi fanciulleschi sardi. *Angela Nardo-Cibele*, Canti ed orazioni bellunesi. *M. di Martino*, Una variante noticiana della formula per la impastatura et infornatura del pane. *M. Menghini*, Indovinelli popolari romani.

- Rivista delle Tradizioni Popolari Italiane**, ii, 6. *Grazia Deledda*, Tradizioni popolari di Nuoro Sardegna. *L. Callari*, Credenze e superstizioni medioevali. *Maria Manca*, Leggenda sarda di compare Peddiù.
- Am Ur-Quell**, vi, 4 and 5. *James Mooney*, The Origin of the Pleiades. Schimpfwörter. *H. v. Wlislocki*, Quälgeister im Volksglauben der Rumänen. *P. Sartori*, Zählen, Messen, Wägen. *Dr. A. Haas*, Das Kind in Glaube und Brauch der Pommern. *Dr. A. H. Post*, Mitteilungen aus dem Bremischen Volkleben. *E. Kulke*, Judendeutsche Sprichwörter aus Mähren, Böhmen und Ungarn. Das Lied aus Waibstadt. Die Haut versauen. Warum gehen Spukgeister kopflos um? Woher kommen die Kinder? Der Mann im Monde. Gründonnerstageier. Alter Volksglaube bei neuen Dichtern. Diebglauben. Vergrabene Schätze. Ausbuttern. Zähne. Katzensporn.
- Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie**, viii, 3. *Dr. J. G. F. Reidel*, Alte Gebräuche bei Heirathen, Geburt und Sterbefällen bei dem Toumbuluh-Stamm. *Dr. B. Langkavel*, Hunde und Naturvölker.
- Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie**, 1895, 4. *Th. v. Grienberger*, Der Merseburger Zauberspruch.
- Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft**, xi. 3. *Bernhoeft*, Griechische Ehe im heroischen Zeitalter.
- Preussische Jahrbücher**, lxxx. 1. *H. Schurtz*, Die Tabu Gesetze.

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.]

DECEMBER, 1895.

[No IV.

FOLK-SONGS COMPRISED IN THE FINNISH *KALEVALA.*

BY CHARLES J. BILLSON, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of May 15th, 1895.*)

IF it were necessary to convince some unscientific person too greedy for immediate results, that the work of collecting and studying folklore may have some bearing even upon practical life, one could not give him a better example to digest than the case of Finland. The surprising development of the Finns during the present century is due of course to many different causes, but no one acquainted with the subject would deny that it has been to a very large extent fostered by the efforts of the Finnish Literary Society, and the collection of those marvellous stores of folklore which lay buried under the austere reserve of the Finnish peasant.¹

That the publication of the *Kalevala* was an event of some political importance is already obvious. It has stirred

¹ The Finnish Literary Society (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura*) was founded in 1831, and in the same year granted a travelling scholarship to Dr. Lönnrot, and afterwards published the results of his research—the *Kalevala* and *Kanteletar*, as well as his great collections of proverbs, riddles, and magic charms.

the fibre of nationality amongst a people who have never as yet shown any political genius; it has revealed to an obscure race their own unity and power; it has awakened an enthusiasm for national culture and historic life which appear destined to have far-reaching effects.

The collection of Finnish folklore has thus been undertaken in a spirit and upon a scale quite without precedent. Scholars and peasants have vied with each other in their ardent efforts to unveil the hidden life of so many centuries, upon the basis of which they are hoping to erect a vigorous nationality. The results are astounding. As far as mere numbers go they are without any parallel. I have not any recent figures, but in the year 1889 the Finnish Literary Society had already collected 22,000 songs, 13,000 stories, 40,000 proverbs, 10,000 riddles, 2,000 folk-melodies, and 20,000 incantations and games.¹ The wealth of this great collection does not consist, however, in its enormous bulk, but in the quality of its contents. Amongst those 22,000 songs are many gems of poetry which the world would not willingly let die; amongst those incantations and tales are many relics of the past preserved by this ancient and unique people which are of vast importance to the science of folklore, and can materially increase our knowledge of the history and development of mind.

This is not the place in which one should dwell upon the literary fascination of the Finnish runes. They reflect souls so uncorrupted and a passion for Nature so intense, that, as soon as their superficial strangeness has worn away, they cannot fail to touch the heart. Not less deep is their scientific interest, and I will mention one aspect of their importance.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of its history and of its geographical position, Finland offers unusual facilities for studying the problem of the diffusion of folklore. Aliens

of a widely different type of race from their western neighbours the Swedes, and also from their Russian neighbours on the east, the Finns have been constantly borrowing. They have appropriated the words, the songs, the tales, even in some cases the myths, of Scandinavia and Russia, and if any future Grimm be destined to expound the law which governs the transmigration of ideas, he will undoubtedly derive many a valuable hint from Finland.¹

Before I speak of the songs themselves I ought to say a word about the Finnish method of singing, which is very archaic, and is said to be still kept up in Karelia.² The songs are accompanied by a kind of zither, called the *Kantele*, which originally contained five strings, made first of horsehair, and afterwards of metal. The old melody which accompanied the runes is founded on G minor, and does not go higher than D nor lower than F sharp.³ While the *Kantele* is being played, two rune

¹ See Comparetti on the *Kalevala* (1892), especially the first and last chapters. (The references in this paper are to the German edition.) On the amalgamation of Swedish and Finnish songs, tales, and traditions, see a pamphlet by Ernest Lagus (Helsingfors, 1891), *Du Folklore Suédois en Finlande*. "Un sujet," he says, "des plus intéressants est encore le rapport qui existe entre la poésie populaire finnoise et la poésie populaire suédoise dans notre pays. Voilà une mission intéressante pour le folklore comparatif, plus intéressante, ce me semble, que dans tout autre pays, car, comme on le sait, notre patrie est habitée par des peuples d'origine très différente, parlant des langues qui appartiennent à deux différentes familles : le suédois à la famille indo-européenne et le finnois à celle des langues oural-altaïques. Dans aucun pays il n'y a de plus grande dissemblance d'origine et de langue entre les habitants. La poésie populaire a-t-elle pu traverser l'abîme qui les sépare? Le génie de la poésie germanique a-t-il réussi à se faire comprendre par un peuple hongrois-finnois et vice-versa?" (P. 5.)

² Brown, *People of Finland in Archaic Times*, p. 279, quoting Dr. Heinrich Helms' *Finnland und die Finnlaender* (Leipzig, 1869).

³ At the International Folklore Congress of 1891, Professor Ilmari Krohn pointed out that the folk-music of the Finns has developed under Swedish influence to a perfection which it never attained by itself. At the same time the literary merit of the folk-songs has to a large extent departed. "La poésie lyrique est remplacée par la musique lyrique." (*Proceedings*, London, 1892, p. 137.)

singers sit opposite each other, and "having their hands locked together accompany the instrument with their song and the motion of their bodies, raising each other alternately from their seats."¹ One of the singers recites or chants a verse and his companion joins in the last word or two, and then repeats the verse alone. The first singer has now thought of the second verse, and this is sung in the same way. In one of the folk-songs the character of the true singer is delineated by one who professes to have been trained in the wisdom of Lapland, the traditional home of wizards, and the poet there says that after taking his seat upon a rock previously to singing, he takes off his coat and turns it inside out.² The object of this manœuvre is of course to strengthen the magic power of his singing, and it is a very interesting point, but whether it was ever a custom with Finnish singers I do not know. It appears, however, from passages in the *Kalevala* and the *Loitsurunoja* that the old and orthodox practice, in summer at least, was to sing without any clothes on at all.³

The collections of Finnish folk-songs which are best known and most accessible are three in number.

I. First and foremost stands the *Kalevala*, the so-called National Epic of Finland, which is composed of a great number of popular songs, ballads, charms, and runic poetry

¹ Acerbi's *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, 1802*, vol. i. p. 226. See the excellent illustration there given, which has been reproduced in Retzius' *Finland i nordiska museet* (Stockholm, 1881), and also in the Finnish edition of the *Kalevala*, published in 1887.

² *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 279, line 39: "Kaannan vaarin vaatteheni murrin turkkini musuran" (*i.e.* "I turn my furs inside out").

³ In the *Kalevala* (xii. 149), the Lapland wizards are described as sitting on a rock on a summer night:

"Ilman vyöttä vaattehitta,
Rikorihman kiertämättä,"

which Schieffner translates:—

"Ohne Gurt und ohne Rocke
Ohne dass ein Band sie deckte." Cf. Loitsurunoja, p. 21.

strung together into an artistic whole by the genius of Dr. Lönnrot.

II. The second and third collections were also made by Lönnrot; one under the name of *Kanteletar*, comprising about 750 folk-songs, the greater number of which are pure lyrics, many of Swedish, and some of Russian origin.¹

III. The third collection, published by Lönnrot in 1880 under the name *Suomen Kansan Loitsurunoja* (*Magic Songs of the Finnish Folk*), contains nearly 900 spells, charms, and incantations.² One of the most interesting points about these magic songs is their similarity to those preserved in the sacred Accadian books discovered at Babylon; and it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary instance, or a more conclusive proof, of the permanence of racial beliefs, than that which is offered by the almost simultaneous discovery of these two sets of charms, the one committed to writing many centuries before the Christian Era, and the other taken down from the mouths of persons still living, modern representatives of the old Accadian stock, who are thus convicted of preserving for many thousands of years a tradition of magic which has

¹ *Kanteletar*, elikkä *Suomen Kansan Vanhoja Lauluja ja Virsiä*, 1st edition, 1840, 3rd edition, 1887. The references in this paper are to the 3rd edition. The *Kanteletar* is divided into three Parts : the first Part containing Songs for Everybody ; the second Part, Songs for Different People, that is to say, a large collection of girls' songs and women's songs, a few boys' songs, and a number of men's songs. The third Part contains Ballads and Romances, and these are divided into Ancient Ballads (19), Mediaeval Ballads (32), Historical, (9), and Miscellaneous (77). Some of the most interesting of the ancient and mediaeval ballads are variants or originals of episodes in the *Kalevala*. Besides the nine strictly historical ballads, others are founded upon historical incidents, for example, the celebrated romance of Elina's Death (pt. iii. song 35) (lately dramatised and placed upon the Finnish stage — a very spirited version of Othello and Desdemona with a female Iago) is founded upon an actual occurrence of the 15th century. The German translation of *Kanteletar*, by Hermann Paul (Helsingfors, 1882), comprises chiefly a number of the subjective lyrics from the first and second parts.

² *Suomen Kansan muinaisia Loitsurunoja*. Helsingfors, 1880.

been but slightly affected by extreme changes of environment.¹

I propose in the present paper to deal primarily with the first of these great stores of popular poetry. It is now well known to scholars that the *Kalevala* is a mere patchwork of popular runes, but fortunately the original elements are themselves in existence, and it is thus possible to unravel the various threads of which the poem is woven. This process of separating the elemental folk-songs from their artificial context has been very laboriously and skilfully accomplished by Finnish scholars, and my analysis is based mainly upon the works of Professors Julius Krohn and Comparetti. It will be obvious to all students of folklore that this rather tedious work of separation and analysis must necessarily precede any scientific investigation into the nature and sources of these Finnish runes.

I.

The main body and frame of the *Kalevala* is compounded of four cycles of folk-songs:—

- A. The Sampo-Songs.
- B. Songs relating to the national hero Väinämöinen which do not belong to the Sampo-cycle.
- C. The Songs of Lemminkäinen or Ahti.
- D. The Songs of Kullervo.

A. The groundnote of the poem is of course the story of the Quest and Rape of Sampo, the most complete version of which is known as the Archangel Sampo-Song. The incidents of this Archangel song, which belongs to the "Jason" type of story, occur in no fewer than eight

See Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 241 seq. (English translation).



different runes of the *Kalevala*.¹ It was collected at Wuoninen, a village in the district of Wuokkiniemi, two or three miles from the frontier of Finland, and was first taken down in the year 1825 by Sjögren, and again in 1833 by Lönnrot from the same folk-singer, one Ontrei, a man whose family came from Finland, and who died in 1856, aged 75. The text given by Professor Comparetti in his work on the *Kalevala*, and taken from a still unpublished volume edited by the late Professor J. Krohn and Dr. Borenius, is formed from a comparison of the two manuscripts.

The Archangel Sampo-Song.

This Sampo-Song, with an incongruity very characteristic of savage myth, opens before the creation of the world.

A little bow-backed Lapp, in pursuance of an old grudge, takes his bow and shoots the old wizard Väinämöinen, who falls into the sea and lies there tumbling to and fro for seven summers. At last he lifts his knee out of the water and grass begins to grow upon it. A little goose, seeing the grass, scrapes a nest there and lays seven eggs. Presently, however, the warmth created by the hatching of the eggs causes Väinämöinen's knee to burn, so he pulls it away, whereupon the eggs roll off and are broken.

¹ The incidents correspond thus :—

<i>Kalevala.</i>	Archangel Sampo-Song.
Rune 6. The Lapp shoots Väinämöinen. V. falls into the sea, and commences the work of creation.	1-17
,, 1. Creation Song.	18-66
,, 7. V. reaches Pöhjola, and is asked to manufacture Sampo.	67-158
,, 10. V. sends Ilmarinen to Pöhjola, who manufactures Sampo and returns.	159-245
,, 38. Benefits of Sampo.	246-256
,, 39. V. and his companions go to fetch Sampo.	257-290
,, 42. Rape of Sampo.	291-349
,, 43. Pursuit of the Robbers.	350-435

Then the old wizard said :

“ That which is the lower half of the egg,
 Let that become the lower half of the world :
 That which is the upper half of the egg,
 Let that become the heaven above :
 That which is the red part of the egg,
 Let that shine as the sun
 In the highest firmament :
 That which is the white of the egg,
 Let that glimmer as the moon
 In the highest firmament :
 What are bits of bone in the egg,
 Let them become stars in the sky.”

After wallowing in the trough of the sea, helpless as a fir-tree’s trunk, for another eight years, Väinämöinen is at last carried by the sea-winds towards the coasts of dark Pohjola, which is also called Manala, the land of Mana, the God of Death,

“ The country without priests,
 The unbaptized land.”¹

There the witch of Pohjola, “ Pohja’s harlot mistress,” is engaged in her domestic duties when she hears a cry from the sea.

“ That cry is not the crying of children,”
 she says,

“ It is not the crying of women,
 It is the cry of a bearded man,
 A bearded chin is making moan.”

So she takes a boat and rowing out to sea rescues the old wizard.

“ She fed the man full,
 She let the man drink his fill,
 She made him sit down in the stern of the boat,
 She herself rowed to Pohja.

¹ This curious anachronism is explained thus. The lines are taken from the mediaeval ballad of Bishop Henry’s death (*Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 28, lines 23-24), and were appropriated by the singers of the Archangel Sampo-Song, and foisted into their runes quite regardless of the “ unities.”



Then she said, when they arrived,
When they came to Pohja :—
‘ Now old Väinämöinen,
If you can forge Sampo,
If you can paint the lid with many colours,
With two bones of a lamb,
With three barleycorns,
Yea, with the half of these—
Then you shall have my daughter for reward.’ ”

The old wizard tells her that he is unable himself to forge Sampo, but he offers to go away and bring from his own country the great smith Ilmarinen, “ he who wrought the heavens and hammered out the canopy of air in such wise that you cannot perceive any marks of the hammer.” The witch agrees to this, and gives him a fine boat, in which he sails home driven by magic.

Upon his return to his own country ¹ Väinämöinen began to sing, and by his incantations conjured up a fir-tree with a golden top, and in the top a marten with a golden breast. Then he went to Ilmarinen and sang to him :

“ Ho ! Smith Ilmarinen !
There is a girl in Pohjola,
A maiden in a cold village,
The pride of earth, the glory of the sea ;
Half the land of Pohja sings her praises,
The young gallants of Suomi yearn for her.
Through her flesh you can see the bones,
Through her bones you can see the marrow.²
If you can forge Sampo,
If you can paint the lid with many colours
With two bones of a lamb,
With three barleycorns,
Yea, with the half of these—
Then you shall have the maiden for reward !”

¹ This phrase, “omille maalle,” seems to recur in Finnish runes with the same pathetic insistence as the “ιν λι πέρπλα γάστερ” of the Greek *Odyssey*.

² This description is what conveyancing lawyers call “common form” in Finnish runes. It also occurs as a poetical formula in some of the *Märchen*.

*He was a man who did not know
that he was a man, who did not know
that he was a man.*

Then Water-Liito, Master Laito,
Took an ox from Pohjola,
A plough from the tilled fields,
And ploughed therewith the roots of Sampo.
He made Sampo stir,
He made Hundred-horns move.”

So they succeeded at last in dragging away the magic treasure, which they placed in their ship and sailed away home.

Ilmarinen wonders why the old Master-singer does not sing for joy at their success, but Väinämöinen replies that it will be time enough to sing when they reach their own doors. He sends the smith up the mast and bids him look back towards the shores of Pohja. At first he declares he can see nothing but hawks and eagles, but presently he sings out :

“ Now a ship is coming from Pohja,
A boat with a hundred rowlocks beats the water,
There are a hundred men rowing
A thousand at the oar-handles.”

The fact is that the old witch and her people have been awoken in the following manner :

“ An ant, a black flying ant,
A two-jointed Kaleva,¹
Squirted on the crane’s claws :
The crane raised a cry,
It made suddenly an angry shriek.
Lempo expected it was his cow,
Piru expected it was Long-tail ;
Pohjola was roused,
The wicked land awoke.”

By means of flint and tinder Väinämöinen created a barrier of rocks between the two boats, upon which the pursuers suffered shipwreck. Then the old witch, who was among the pursuers, transformed herself into a bird, and flew up

¹ *Kaleva*, the giant hero, the eponym of *Kalevala*, “the land of *Kaleva*.” The name appears to be applied to the little ant ironically.

and perched on the mast-head of Väinämöinen's ship. The wizard seizes the rudder and tries to break her claws, but cannot succeed in destroying the little toe. So he proposes that Sampo shall be divided between them. The witch refuses, and there is an angry debate between them, Väinämöinen dilating upon the virtues of Sampo, and the witch threatening to destroy by her magic arts all the benefits which Sampo confers. The fragment, which contains 435 lines, ends abruptly by the hero defying the witch to do her worst.

As this Sampo-Song and the Creation Myth with which it is connected are of peculiar interest, it may be useful to add an analysis of the variants given by Professor J. Krohn in his *Kalevalan Toisinnot*.¹

Variants of Creation Song.

(1) Väinämöinen after the Creation goes to Pohja (as in the Archangel Song) or elsewhere. (Four variants, Nos. 1-4.)

(2) The Attack of the Lapp on Väinämöinen mixed with the Creation Song (as in the Archangel Song), but V. goes nowhere afterwards. (Fifty-three variants, Nos. 5-58.)

(α) Fragmentary forms from E. Österbotten (the most northerly province of Finland), where the song has nearly died out. (Eight variants, Nos. 5-12.)

(β) Full and clear type of the story from Finnish N. Karelia, north of Lake Lagoda. (Forty-five variants, Nos. 13-58.)

The Lapp shoots V., who falls into the sea. Then a bird builds a copper nest on V.'s knee and lays a golden egg. The knee becoming warm, V. moves it, and upsets the egg, which is broken into six fragments. From the upper half of the

¹ Vol. i. Helsingfors, 1888.

egg he creates the sky, from the lower half the earth, &c., &c., as in the Archangel Song.

In twenty variants the bird is a wild duck "sotka" (*Fuligula clangula*). In two it is a "sorsa" (*Anas boschas*), in two an eagle, in others "haapana" (*Anas penelope*) hornet, "alli" (*Fuligula glacialis*) "telkkä" (*Fuligula cristata*). In the South the bird is always a swallow.

(3) Original form of the myth; in which the Creation Song is *not* mixed up with the Attack of the Lapp. (From the South of Finnish Karelia, Esthonia, &c. (Seventy-one variants, Nos. 59-130.)

(a) Miscellaneous fragments of the Creation Song containing only the Building of the Swallow's Nest.

A swallow flies about all a summer's day seeking for a spot where she may hatch her young. At last she sees a ship on the sea, and perching on the mast, lays a golden egg in a copper nest. A storm arises, the ship heels over, and the egg rolls into the sea. (Thirteen variants, Nos. 59-71.)

(β) Shows a form in which the myth of the Creation of the World has been resolved into a myth of the Creation of *Sea-dogs* or Fishes, which spring from the upset egg. (Six variants, Nos. 72-77.)

(γ) Instead of the creation of the whole world these variants give the creation of an island only from the upset egg. Out of the island grows a fresh grass-plot, and from the grass-plot a beautiful maiden. She is courted by all, but in vain. At last comes Thomas of the Grass (*Nurmi-Thomas*, i.e. Death), who carries her off in his sledge, which travels so fast that all the fields tremble. (Fifty-two variants, Nos. 78-130.)

This tale is given in one of the folksongs (*Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 1), a curious relic of antiquity.

(4) These fragments contain the creation of the island

and the maiden, but there is no courtship, and they end differently. (Fifteen variants, Nos. 131-145.)

(5) Creation of island, but not of maiden. (Nine variants, Nos. 146-154.)

(6) The beginning is the same as before, but the end is more archaic and mythical. The egg that falls from the ship becomes the sun, moon, and stars. (Seven variants, Nos. 155-161.)

(7) The egg is not laid on a ship, but on land (an island, grass-plot, shrub). A storm arises and the egg is rolled into the sea. The swallow begs a smith to make her an iron rake, with which she rakes up the egg. Then from the yellow part the moon is made, from the white the sun, from the remainder the stars. (Fifty-nine variants, Nos. 162-221.)

Variants of the Sampo-Rape.

Krohn gives 103 variants (Nos. 222-325), the most complete of which, containing 308 lines, was found by Ahlquist in 1846 in the parish of Ilamants (north of Lake Lagoda). It agrees pretty closely with the Archangel Song, the main differences being the following:

(i.) The third companion is named Joukamoinen.

(ii.) After they have left Pohjola Joukamoinen asks Väinämöinen to sing a song of triumph. At first V. refuses, but finally allows himself to be persuaded, and sings so that all the cliffs resound, whereupon the ant bites the crane, and so on.

(iii.) When the witch perches on the mast Väinämöinen strikes off all her claws except the *Nameless Claw*.¹ With this claw she seizes V.'s boat and lifts it into the air. At V.'s command the boat sinks again.

The nameless finger is the little finger, with which Väinämöinen breaks from his mother's womb. See Jacob Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 97.

It appears that a fog is then conjured up by the witch, which V. disperses with a crack of his whip.

One of the variants is peculiarly interesting, from the fact of its having been collected at Wermaland in Sweden, from the descendants of a Finnish colony, who migrated thither from North Tavastland about the year 1600, and who have kept the leading features of the story almost entire.

Three variants (Nos. 235-237) contain only the ant and crane episode.

No. 238 contains only the reefmaking with flint and tinder.

The rest of the fragments are more or less mixed up with other sagas and songs.

B. Songs of Väinämöinen not belonging to the Sampo Cycle.¹

- (1) *The Birth of Väinämöinen.*
- (2) *The Rival Singers.*
- (3) *The Rival Suitors.*
- (4) *The Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee.*
- (5) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Vipunen.*
- (6) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Deathland.*
- (7) *The Passing of Väinämöinen.*

(1) In the first *Kalevala* (1835) Väinämöinen is the creator of the world in accordance with the general tradition, but in the second edition (1849) the creation is ascribed to *Kave Luonnatar* or *Ilmotar*, the Nature- or Air-goddess, who in *Kalevala*, xvii. 291 sqq., is described as

“Kave, old wife, daughter of Nature,
Kave, golden fair,
Kave, the oldest of women.”

¹ Some of these songs and of the romances mentioned on p. 340 are sometimes found in conjunction with Sampo-Songs, but appear nevertheless to have an independent origin.

The necessity for this alteration arose from Lönnrot's wish to include the folk-song of *Väinämöinen's Birth*, which he had collected in Finnish Karelia. In this song the mother of Väinämöinen is not named Luonnatar or Ilmotar, but she is so named in some magic-songs, and Lönnrot doubtless thought that the creation might more appropriately be ascribed to the Nature- or Air-goddess than to any of the persons named in different versions of the song as Väinämöinen's mother (the maiden Iro, the maiden of Pohjola, &c.) The circumstances of the birth are those which usually attend the advent of supernatural heroes.¹

(2) *The Rival Singers* relates the famous contest in songs of magic between the Finnish Apollo and a Lapland Marsyas, named Joukahainen. The former punishes his presumptuous rival, and only releases him from enchantment upon being promised the hand of the Lapp's sister in marriage. By giving to this sister the name of *Aino*, and by giving to the suitor of Aino the name of *Väinämöinen*, Lönnrot has connected this song with the celebrated *Rune of Aino*, but they are in reality totally distinct poems.²

(3) *The Rival Suitors*. The reader will have noticed that in the Archangel Sampo-Song the daughter of Pohjola is offered as a reward for the forging of Sampo. When Ilmarinen goes to forge it, she is married to him, but nothing is said of the rival courtship of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen which occurs in the *Kalevala*. The maiden there chooses Ilmarinen, not because he has forged Sampo but because he is the younger, and (having washed his face with magic

¹ Cf. the American Hero-Myth given by Brinton, *American Hero-Myths* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 54.

² In seven variants Joukahainen's sister is named *Anni*, but in most versions she is called "ainoan sisären," which does not mean his "Sister Aino," but his "dear sister." Ninety variants of the song are given in Krohn's *Kalevalan Toisinnot* (Helsingfors, 1888), vol. i., numbers 340-430, pp. 118-157.

soap, through the kind forethought of his sister) the more beautiful of the two. This tale of the *Rival Suitors* is frequently found united to the Sampo and other tales, but it is generally told as an independent story, and does not end with the betrothal, but goes on to relate the subsequent home-faring, running up into the incidents of *The Golden Bride* and *The Wooing of the Son of Kojo*. The folk-tale of "Ilmarinen's Courtship"¹ is a sample of the manner in which all these incidents were pieced together.

(4) The tale of the *Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee* contains many archaic features. The story runs that in building a boat Väinämöinen cuts his knee, and cannot stanch the blood, which pours out in so large a stream that it threatens to drown the world. After some fruitless inquiries, the hero at last finds an old man to whom he sings the magic song of the *Origin of Iron*.² The old man having learnt this *Origin*, makes a long incantation abusing iron for doing so much mischief, and finally heals the wound.

(5) A more interesting tale is that which relates Väinämöinen's *Journey to Vipunen*. This old giant is full of the wisdom of the Old World, and Väinämöinen, having lost three words of magic without which he is unable to finish a boat that he is making, goes to Vipunen to obtain them.³ The way lies over the points of needles, the edges of swords, and the edges of axes, but the smith Ilmarinen forges magic shoes which enable Väinämöinen to make the journey. The giant is a mountain of earth with a fir-tree growing out of his forehead. Väinämöinen enters his mouth, and

¹ Schreck, *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. 3.

² This *Raudan synty*, which is given in the *Kalevala*, xi. 39-266, corresponds almost exactly with the version in the *Loitsurunoja* 32 (a), p. 313 *sqq.* The making of the salve (xi. 425-488) corresponds with the *Voiteen synty* (origin of salves) given in the *Loitsurunoja*, 50 (a), pp. 343-4.

³ This beginning of Rune xvi. corresponds with the magic song *Veneen synty*, "Origin of the Boat." *Loitsurunoja*, p. 341.

taking up his abode in the giant's stomach, sets up an anvil there and works at it so persistently and causes Vipunen such discomfort, that he is at last induced to tell the three words of magic.

A similar tale is told about the smith Ilmarinen being swallowed by *Ukko Untamoinen*, "Old Father Sleeper," another ancient nature-giant of the same kind as Vipunen.¹ He likewise sets up a smithy inside the giant, and forges a bird which pecks a hole in his side.² It looks, indeed, as if the story had been told originally of Ilmarinen, as we hear nowhere else of the great singer doing smith's work; and indeed, in the Western versions of the tale, the hero who goes to Vipunen is sometimes called Ilmarinen.³

(6) It is an essential feature in every national epic that the hero should descend into the Shades; and although the descent into Vipunen's belly is actually a visit to the underworld, Lönnrot has also inserted in the *Kalevala* part of a magic song concerning the *Origin of Beer*, in which a similar episode occurs. The beer requires a singer, as in the 25th rune of the *Kalevala*. Väinämöinen resolves to go and be that singer, but on the way he breaks his sledge, and wanting a gimlet to mend it, goes off to find one in the kingdom of Tuoni, the God of Death. The incidents of his journey are common to most folktales of this type. There is the difficulty of the living man's admission, the gate guarded by serpents and a savage watch-dog, the

¹ The prolific race of giants appears to have sprung from three main roots. (i.) There are certain mythical giants, who represent features of the inorganic world, the sun, the earth, mountains, or, as Vipunen, the grave and underworld of the dead (*Orci fauces*). (ii.) There are giants, like the Indian Râkshashas, who appear to preserve the memory of those gigantic beasts and flying serpents which struck terror into the heart of early man. (iii.) And other giants, like the Cyclops, seem to represent magnified aboriginal tribes of men.

² Schreck, *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. 3. In the Cossack story of *Ivan Golik* (Bain, p. 264), Ivan, swallowed by a whale, smokes a pipe in its belly, and procures his liberty in a manner which may be readily conjectured.

³ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 115

offer of drink, which is refused, and a difficult escape in the form of a water-snake.

(7) The final *Passing of Väinämöinen*, which is very similar to the passing of other heroes, such as Hiawatha, the Gond hero Lingo, or our own Arthur, was collected in Russia, and I will only mention that in the oldest versions the hero is not named Väinämöinen, but Virokannas.

C. The songs of Lemminkäinen or Ahti.

The runes of Lemminkäinen or Ahti comprise a collection of myths and folk-tales, the latter containing the familiar incidents of the *Life-token*, the *Restoration of the Dead*, and the *Uninvited Guest*, the last of which was, I believe, imported, in part at least, from the Swedes.¹

The songs are:—

- (1) *The Wooing of Kyllikki.*
- (2) *The Death and Restoration of Lemminkäinen.*
- (3) *The Uninvited Guest.*
- (4) *Ahti's Sea-voyage.*

(1) The *Wooing of Kyllikki* is very rare, only two versions being known. The hero of this adventure is always named Ahti, which is properly the name of the Finnish sea-god. Lönnrot, indeed, calls the sea-god Ahto (a diminutive of Ahti), in order to distinguish him from the Ahti of these folk-songs, but there is no such distinction among the folk. The tale as given in the *Kalevala* is elaborated with many additions; for example, the courtship of the Sun and Moon at the beginning of Rune xi., which corresponds with the very popular ballad of *Suometar*,² and

¹ Cf. Lagus, *op. cit.*, p. 6. (I have not, however, had an opportunity of learning whether the story is the same as that of the popular Swedish ballad of that name.)

² *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 6. The story also occurs in the *Kalevipoeg*, and Mr Kirby informs us (*Hero of Estonia*, vol. i. p. xxvi.) that nearly 200 variants have been found in Estonia alone. A translation of one variant is given in Latham's *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 142.

the capture of Kyllikki from the group of dancing maidens, which is taken from the "Sister Violated" story in the Kullervo cycle.¹

(2) *Lemminkäinen's Death and Restoration.*

This story, which comprises four runes of the *Kalevala* (xii.-xv.), is compounded of many different elements. The Chase of Hiisi's Elk (told in the *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 7, of Lyylikki) and the other marriage-tests are customary incidents related of many heroes and common to various songs. The real kernel of the tale is the beautiful picture of Mother's Love given in the 15th rune.

(3) The story of the *Uninvited Guest* and the fight with the Host of Pohjola (Runes xx., xxvi.-xxx.). In all the variants but one, the country to which the hero goes is not Pohjola but Päivölä, the land of the Sun, and his combat is with the son of that luminary. The story of the Isle of Refuge, inhabited, like the Island of Broken Hearts in Mr. Gilbert's play, by beautiful and lovesick maidens, was thought by M. Marmier to be one of the many memories of Greek tradition which have floated northward.²

(4) The *Journey of Ahti* and his companion Tiera to the frozen North (Rune xxx.) is one of the strangest and most disconnected parts of the *Kalevala*, and in the opinion of Professor Comparetti it represents some forgotten myth, traces of which may be seen in the *Loitsurunoja*.³ It is possible that the story may be a popular reminiscence of the Scandinavian myth of Thor, as the story of Lemminkäinen's death may be an echo of the myth of Balder, to which it corresponds with some closeness.

¹ See post, p. 339.

² Cf. the Blue Bird ballads. Kirby, *Hero of Estonia*, vol. ii. p. 292 sqq.

³ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Cf. *Loitsurunoja*, p. 299; *Pakkasen Synty*, "Origin of Sharp Frost," which corresponds with the *Kalevala*, Rune xxx. 213-240. See *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. p. 46.

First draft of the Lemminkäinen Runes.

In the *Kalevalan Esityöt* of A. Borenius and J. Krohn (Helsingfors, 1891, vol. i. p. 15 *sqq.*), is given Lönnrot's first draft of the Lemminkäinen runes composed in the year 1833 (the date 1883 given in Comparetti's book, p. 106, is an obvious misprint), and a comparison of this immature attempt with the Lemminkäinen runes of the present *Kalevala* throws considerable light upon Lönnrot's methods. This early draft comprises the bald outline of all Lemminkäinen's story with the exception of the voyage with Tiera,¹ yet it contains only 825 lines, whilst the corresponding nine runes of the *Kalevala* contain no fewer than 4,377 lines.

It begins with a description of the brewing of the festal beer by Osmotar. Then the red beer cries out for a singer, and Päivilä, the old one of the heavens (Päivilä tuo Ilman ukko), bids his servants invite the poor and wretched, the blind and the halt, all except Lemminkäinen the rude (lieto poika, lit. "dirty"), who is always so quarrelsome. When asked how they should recognise Lemminkäinen or Kaukomiel, he replies that they will recognise him by his bright piercing eyes and by his living on a headland.

Then follows a description of Ahti's or Kaukomiel's life on an island with his mother (*Kalevala*, xi. 2-20). He calls to his mother for his harness and his armour. "Where are you going, my son? are you going to the woods or to the sea? to chase the stag or to the great wars?" "Neither. I am going to the feast of Päivilä." His mother beseeches him not to go, and tells him at some length the various perils which he will encounter—a big serpent, a fiery waterfall, a bath of fire, a hundred stakes with a head suggestively empaled on every stake *except one*, a wolf and adders guarding the

¹ Lemminkäinen has of course nothing to do with the Sampo-Rape, although Lönnrot, in order to connect that with the Lemminkäinen runes, has given his name to the companion of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen in the place of Joukamoinen or Water-Liito.

gates of Päivölä, &c. Lemminkäinen pooh-poohs all her anxiety and declares such bugbears only daunt children. He sets off, encounters all the perils she has foretold, and overcomes them all. Then he meets very inconsistently the old one of Pohjola and his wife, and goes with them into the house of Pohjola. He complains of the food and especially of the beer, picks a quarrel with the son of Päivä, or Päivilä, and invites him to "come out." The combatant with the longest sword is to have the first blow. The son of Päivä declares that his sword is the longest, and on measuring swords it proved to be the longest by a single barleycorn. They fight, and Lemminkäinen lops off the head of the son of Päivä "like a fish's fin."

Then he goes home, and by his mother's advice seeks a temporary exile in some desert island, and there is a rather bare allusion to the Isle of Refuge with its hundreds and thousands of amiable girls.

Then follows a tale in which Lemminkäinen goes like Ilmarinen in the folktale to woo the daughter of Hiisi. He is set no fewer than six tasks, including the familiar catching of Hiisi's elk, wolf, and horse, ploughing a field of serpents, bathing in a bath-room of hot iron, &c. At last he is killed, his mother goes to seek him, takes a copper rake and rakes up fragments of his body, which she restores to life.

The literary genius which has breathed upon these rather dry bones, and by the judicious addition of picturesque incidents, descriptions, prayers, magic songs, and lyrics from other sources has restored them to the beauty and vigour of the *Kalevala* runes, is scarcely less wonderful than the restoring love of Lemminkäinen's mother.

D. With the cycle of songs relating to Kullervo, or the son of Kaleva, which has been mainly developed in Estonia, many English readers are already familiar from

the pages of Mr. Kirby's delightful book on *The Hero of Esthonia*.¹

All the stories about Kullervo which appear in the *Kalevala* occur also in the Estonian epic, with the exception of the tale of the smith's wife.²

This group of stories has nothing at all in common with the rest of the *Kalevala* story, the only connecting link which Lönnrot could discern is that the smith whose wife was killed by Kullervo is in two only of many variants named Ilmarinen. The folk-songs of the son of Kaleva, the eponymous giant of *Kalevala*, out of which the Kullervo runes were fashioned, are the following :

- (1) *The Revenge of Kaleva's Son (α) against the smith's wife, (β) against Untamo.*
- (2) *The Sister Violated.*
- (3) *The Campaign.*
- (4) *The Messengers of Death.*

(1) (α) These songs tell how the son of Kaleva soon after his birth kicked his cradle to pieces, &c., was sold to a smith whose wife made him a herdboy and gave him a cake with a stone baked in it, whereupon he killed her as in the *Kalevala* rune.

(β) These songs tell of the family feud between the brothers Untamo and Kalervo; the former kills the latter, and Kalervo's son avenges his father's death.

(2) This is the same theme as that of the Scotch ballad of *The Bonny Hynd*. It also occurs in the *Kalevipoeg*.

In versions apparently most original the hero does not commit suicide but sacrifices a wild animal as an atonement for his crime.

(3) *The Campaign*, and (4) *The Messengers of Death* are complementary runes, the one being concerned with

¹ London (Nimmo), 1895. 2 vols.

² This tale, however, occurs in Esthonia under the title "The Royal Herd-boy." See Kirby, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 279.

the answers given by the relatives of the hero (generally named *Anterus*), who is going to the wars, when he inquires how his death would affect them; the other contains the answers which the hero himself gives to the messengers informing him of the death of his relatives. It is the death of his wife, which affects him, for which Lönnrot substituted the death of his mother.

II.

Besides these four main cycles of song there are seven distinct romances or folk-tales woven into the fabric of the *Kalevala* :—

- (1) *The Tale of Aino.*
- (2) *The Fishing for the Mermaid.*
- (3) *The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air.*
- (4) *The Golden Bride.*
- (5) *The Wooing of the Son of Kojo.*
- (6) *The Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon.*
- (7) *The Story of the Virgin Maria.*

(1) *The Tale of Aino*, which forms one of the best known and most poetical episodes in the *Kalevala*, and which has recently found such beautiful expression in Finnish art,¹ is a pure romance with nothing epic about it.

A lovely maiden goes into the woods to gather twigs of birch for making bath-whisks. There she is met by the son of Kälev or Osmo—a purely generic term—who tells her harshly that he loves her and that she must be his. The girl answers proudly and goes home in tears. Her mother favours the proposed marriage, and bids her daughter go to the store closet and put on her best dress. Aino goes to the store closet, and finding there her mother's golden belt, she hangs herself with it. On discovering her daughter's

¹ In the *painting* of A. Gallén, the *sculpture* of J. Talkanen, and the *drama* of *Aino*, published in 1893 by Johan Henrik Erkko.

death the mother bewails her fate as in the *Kalevala*. The story which the mother tells her daughter in the *Kalevala* version about the gifts of gold and silver which she received in her girlhood from the daughters of the Sun and Moon appears to be part of a totally distinct song which is given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. iii., song 84).

(2) *The Fishing for the Mermaid*, or daughter of Vellamo, has no connection at all with the Aino rune, although Lönnrot has brought the stories into conjunction by the device of making Aino drown herself in the one tale, and identifying her with the mermaid in the other. The fisher is generally Väinämöinen, but the story is told of Lemminkäinen and others. The mermaid who is caught and afterwards escapes back to her own element is a divinity called "Vellamo's daughter," "Ahti's daughter," or simply "daughter of the waters."

(3) *The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air* is another charming fairy tale, complete in itself. The Daughter of the Air is a divine being of exquisite beauty who refuses to grant her love except to the man who can perform certain impossible tasks which she sets him. She is brought into the framework of the *Kalevala* story by being identified with the daughter of Pohjola's hostess, whom Väinämöinen goes to woo. But in none of the versions is she called the daughter of Pohjola. She is always spoken of as a divinity, sometimes as the daughter of Tapio, the Wood-god. In Estonia her wooers are the sons of the Moon, Sun and Stars.¹

¹ The marriage tests set by the Daughter of the Air are :

- (i.) To cut a hair from a horse's tail with a knife that has no edge ; to tie an egg with an invisible tie.
- (ii.) To peel a stone ; to cut a club from ice without making a splinter.
- (iii.) To build a boat out of chips from her spindle, and launch it without touching it.

The tests of Louhi for Lemminkäinen are :

- (i.) To catch the wild elk of Hiisi.

(4) The story of the man who made himself a golden image for a bride, which in the 37th rune of the *Kalevala* is attributed to Ilmarinen, and (5) the story (also assigned to Ilmarinen) of the carrying off of the daughter of Louhi, whom he changes into a sea-gull in the 38th rune, are both of them derived from Russian sources.¹ They form part of a cycle of songs, four of which are given in *Kanteletar*, relating to one Ivan, and are derived from the heroic songs of Iván Godinvóvich.² One of these songs is marked by an act of strange barbarity very alien from the spirit of Finnish poetry,³ and Lönnrot, while adopting most of the incidents, has judiciously omitted the most repulsive.

(6) The tale of the *Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon*, which is worked into the 49th rune of the *Kalevala* and part of the 47th, is told in *Kanteletar* of Turo, the son of Jumala (Heaven), who is identified by Krohn with the Scandinavian *Thor*.⁴ As this tale has never been translated from *Kanteletar*, so far as I know, I will give a short account of it. It seems to bear traces of Scandinavian influence.

(ii.) To bridle Hiisi's horse of fire.

(iii.) To catch the black swan in the Death River.

(*Kalevala*, xiii. 23, xiv. 275 and 375.)

The tests of Louhi's daughter for Ilmarinen are :

(i.) To plough a field of serpents.

(ii.) To muzzle Tuoni's bear.

(iii.) To catch Tuoni's pike.

In all these tests Ilmarinen is helped by his bride-elect, but in the *Märchen* the tests are different (except the first), and he receives no help from his bride.

¹ These two stories are united in the folktale of Ilmarinen's courtship. Schreck, p. 3.

² Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 116. For the Russian song, see Hapgood's *Epic Songs of Russia* (1885), p. 124.

³ *Kanteletar*, pt. iii. songs 46-50. The incident referred to occurs in pt. iii., song 46, line 231 *sqq.* The first part of the incident is alluded to in the old Scottish ballad of "Gil Brenton," v. 18, and in many other old songs.

⁴ *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 2. See *ib.* p. 485.

The Tale of Turo.

"Once upon a time it happened that the sun was not in the sky, the moon was absent, and all the land was wrapped in darkness. The sun had been stolen by Esthonian conjurers, and the moon by German magicians. So the Son of Jumala, the bold and clever Turo, promised that he would go and seek for the missing lights. First of all he wound up a ball of sleep, then he took some beer in a pitcher, some honey in an ox's horn, placed a stone in his bosom and a comb in his shirt, and then started off on his horse.

"After he had ridden some distance he came upon a fallen tree which completely blocked the road. But he had only to pour out some beer and let a drop of honey fall upon the tree and it split in two at once, and left the way clear. By means of the same charm he defeated two other obstacles, a hill and a lake, which successively attempted to block the path, and then he saw before him the roofs of Hiisi, the dwellings of the Devil. So he went up and found a little barn standing there in which he saw three girls at work, and what should they be doing but polishing up the moon and cleaning the sun! He went up quietly to the door and threw his ball of sleep into the barn, and immediately the three girls fell into a deep slumber. So Turo carried off the sun and the moon. After he had gone a little way he heard a great noise behind him, and looking back he saw all the devils were on his track. Then he took the pebble from his bosom and threw it down, saying:

'Grow big, little pebble,
Grow big and mighty,
So that they cannot pass over you,
So that they cannot pass round you.'

And the pebble did as it was told, and became a great mountain which completely baffled the pursuers. However the next day he heard the devils howling

after him again. This time he threw down the comb, saying :

‘Grow into a forest of pines,
Pine-trees with trunks of iron,
So that they cannot pass over you,
Nor through you, nor by your side.’

And the comb did as it was told, and became a forest of pines through which the devils could not pass.¹ The next day Turo arrived in his own country bringing back the sun and moon.

“Then he fastened the sun on the topmost bough of a golden pine, and set up the moon on the top of a fir-tree. And the sun shone brightly on the topmost bough ; it shone upon the happy, on the rich and joyful, but it did not shine upon the fatherless, the poor, and wretched. So he fixed it on the lowest bough instead, and it shone brightly on the lowest bough ; it shone upon the fatherless, the poor, and wretched, but it did not shine upon the fortunate and happy. At last he fastened the sun upon the middle bough, and there it shone brightly. And now the sun shines equally upon poor and rich ; it shines upon the gay and wealthy, and it shines upon the fatherless and those who are in want. The moon throws her gentle ray alike upon the door of the prosperous and the threshold of the mean.”

(7) *The Lay of the Virgin Marjatta* is a long poem, given in full in *Kanteletar* (pt. iii., song 20), containing the

¹ In the Russian story, *The Witch and the Sun's Sister* (Ralston, pp. 170 sqq.), Prince Ivan throws down a brush, which becomes a chain of mountains, and a comb, which becomes a forest. Also in the Russian tale of the *Baba Yaga* (Ralston, pp. 139 sqq.), the girl throws down a towel, which becomes a river, and a comb, which becomes a forest. See Ralston's remarks on this (*ib.* pp. 142-144). Also see Campbell's suggestion to explain the popularity of the comb in folk-tales (*Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. i. p. lxxi. sqq., ed. 1890). In *Saxo Grammaticus* (v. 165), the wonder-working Finns themselves when hard pressed cast down pebbles which became mountains, &c. See also Bain's *Cossack Tales*, p. 56.

incidents of the last rune in the *Kalevala*, which are set out by Mr. Sidney Hartland in his recent study of the Supernatural Birth.¹ I will only add that the name of the Virgin Maria or Marjatta appears to be derived from the berry which she eats (marja), and its resemblance to the name of the Virgin Mary is purely accidental, although it doubtless helped the process by which the Christian story became grafted on an old pagan legend.

III.

Amongst the ingredients of the *Kalevala*, scattered freely throughout the work, and placed into the mouths of the characters, or even in some cases absorbed into the narrative itself (as in the 48th rune), are many prayers, chants, religious formulas, and other magic songs and lyrics. They may be roughly classed as :—

- (1) Origins.
- (2) Charms.
- (3) Lyrics.

(1) More than fifty Songs of Origin are included in the *Kalevala*, to some of which I have already alluded. I give a list of the more important, with references to the original versions given in the *Loitsurunoja* and the English translations of them which have already appeared in *Folk-Lore*.

KALEVALA. LOITSURUNOJA. FOLK-LORE.				
	Rune and Lines.	Page.	Vol.	and Page.
α Origin of Iron	vii. 177. ix., 29-258	313	ii.	31.
β Origin of Fire	xlvii. 67-364. xlvi.	336	iv.	30.
γ Origin of Nine Diseases	xlv. 23-476	322	iv.	35.
δ Origin of Serpents	xxvi. 695-758. Cf. also xv. 591, and xix. 78	285	i.	37.
ε Origin of Adders	xxxiv. 93-100	285	i.	45.

¹ *The Legend of Perseus* (1894), vol. i. pp. 108-110.

ζ Origin of Beer	x. 143 <i>sqq.</i>	296	ii. 61.
η Origin of Frost	xxx. 213-298	299	iv. 46.
ι Origin of the Bear	xlvi. 355-458	278	i. 26.
ι Origin of Flax.	xlviii. 15 <i>sqq.</i>	291	i. 337.
η Origin of Salves	ix. 425 <i>sqq.</i>	343	iv. 42.
λ Origin of Water-snakes	xv. 591-602		
μ Origin of Diseases caused by Magic	xvii. 185-238		
ν Origin of Uncertain Ills	xvii. 167-244		

The second rune, describing the sowing of the primal earth by Väinämöinen with the aid of Pellervoinen or Sampsa and other dwarfs, is entirely composed of three magic songs used in connection with agriculture. The first song, the *Planting and Sowing of the Earth*, is a Song of Origin, employed for the purpose of exorcising wood in order to cure a wound caused by any wooden instrument. (*See Loitsurunoja*, p. 310, "Puiden Synty.")

The second song, the *Great Oak*, is very widespread, and corresponds with the Song of the Origin of Stich, four versions of which are given in the *Loitsurunoja*. (*See Loitsurunoja*, pp. 301-309, "Pistoksen Synty.")

The third song, the *Planting of the Barley*, has been sung for many centuries at a purely heathen spring festival, and appears to be one of the numerous songs of the Origin of Beer.¹ It is stated by Le Duc that "les vieux Finnois prononcent aujourd'hui cette invocation en ensemençant leurs champs."²

(2) Charms and magic formulas occupy a large space in the *Kalevala*.

The subjoined list is not by any means exhaustive.

Charm of Menace (to terrify the enemy)	xvii. 485-494.
Charm of Vengeance (to terrify the enemy)	xvii. 317-346.

¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

² *Le Kalevala traduit par L. Le Duc* (New edition, Paris, 1879), p. 17, note.

Charm of Boasting (to give the magician confidence)	xii. 144-184.
Charm of Inspiration	xvii. 185-238.
Charm of Exorcising (to 'conjure away evils wrought by witchcraft)	xvii. 397-446.
Charm of Posting (to send the evil spirit on its way <i>post-haste</i>)	xvii. 447-474.
Charm of Binding (to fix the evil spirit to the spot)	xvii. 433-446.
Charm of Defence	xii. 255-296, xxx. 447-480, xliv. 401-434.
Charm to invoke Aid	xvii. 257-308, ix. 507-516.
Charm for Aid in Sickness	xvii. 179-184.
Charm for Sudden Attacks of Pain	xvii. 495-504.
Charm to assuage Pains	xlv. 259-312, xvii. 245-256.
Charm for Healing	xlv. 197-354.
Charm for the Veins	xv. 315-376.
Charm for Stanching Blood	ix. 343-416.
Charm for Fire-burns	xlviii. 301-366.
Charm for Child-bearing	xlv. 117-146.
Charm for Fishing	xlviii. 123-150.
Charm for Bear-hunting	xlvi. 47-144.
Charm for bringing Cattle Home	xxxii. 273-314.
Charm for Cattle	xxxii. 37-542.
Charm for Starting	xvii. 475-484.
Charm for bringing Home	xvii. 309-396.
Charm for Milking	xxxii. 141-228.
Charm for Rowing	xlvi. 197-216.
Charm for Sowing	ii. 296-330.
Charm for quieting Snakes	xxvi. 633-670.
Charm for driving Serpents aside	xix. 78-90.
Charm for Dogs	xxii. 373-378.
Charm for Bees	xv. 393-534, xx 345-380,
Charm for Waterfalls	xl. 23-82.
Charm for Baths	xlv. 211-228.
Charm for Divination	xlvi. 81-104.
Charm for Fire	xlviii. 1-372.
Charm for Sacrifice	xiv. 253-264.
Charm of Abuse for Iron	ix. 271-342.
Charm of Protection against Bears	xxxii. 315-542.
Charm for Woodmen (hunters)	xiv. 23-264.
Charm for Soldiers	xliv. 191-206.
Charm for Seafarers	xviii. 29-40.

REVIEWS.

ANCIENT AND HOLY WELLS OF CORNWALL. By
LILIAN QUILLER-COUCH. Chas. J. Clark, 1

UNDER this title is put out a little book containing a list of nearly a hundred holy wells. It is based on a manuscript of the late Mr. T. Quiller-Couch, and completed by his daughter. The authors have described what they saw, and given what they could glean from the folk about the wells. They have illustrated the more interesting wells with pictures, and collected allusions could be got from the various histories of the wells. We have thus just what the student wants, a collection of facts with very little theorising upon them.

Most of the wells seem to be very picturesque. They are nearly all covered with a little building, like a small porch, having a vaulted roof and Gothic or rounded door. They find frequently a niche, which, perhaps, served for the figure of the patron saint; now and then a font or altar, and a seat to sit on. Moreover, in nearly all cases there is a well, the ruins of a chapel, or some trace that a chapel once stood there: it is named, maybe, in an old history, or has been mentioned in some chapel farm hard by. Other wells have a legend connected with them. A large number of them (43) are named after saints who is said to have lived there, or to have made the water holy.

As regards the superstitions connected with these wells, they are still in full force, and we find the usual bathing of the sick, votive pins (once rags and once coins are mentioned no more). Where this is not the case, an odour lingers about them, so that this water is preferred to other waters; or it may be there is just an impression that it is healthy to drink, as that of St. Eunius is considered "the best pumpen water." Hardly any of the wells have anything remarkable about them; one or two are chalybeate, containing sulphuric acid, and that is about all.

the episode in xlvi. 469-502, where the first Kantele is washed overboard in a storm and lost at sea.¹

(c) Lönnrot had no difficulty in composing opening and closing lyrics out of the many favourite folk-songs whose theme is the praise of song. The best part of the Introduction (i. 51-90) is taken from a very beautiful poem given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. ii., song 280) called "The School of Song"; and the lines in the closing lyric, describing the singer's early life in his mother's cottage (l. 593-608), are taken from a song given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. i., song 2) called "Forgive me, gentles!"

There are also a number of minor lyrics introduced at various points; *ex. gr.* the song sung by Väinämöinen in xlvi. 385, when sowing the fragments of Sampo, a song composed of different popular lyrics none of which have anything to do with Sampo. There are also some *Gnomes* introduced, generally at the end of an episode, and usually attributed to Väinämöinen, who sums up the moral situation after the manner of the chorus in Greek tragedies. See the *Kanteletar*, pt. i. song 90, where Lönnrot has collected a number of these proverbs under the title "Väinämöinen's Sayings."

¹ The best "Origin" of the Finnish Kantele is that given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. i., song 1), in a little lyric which reminds one of Blake. It may be rendered thus :

" 'Tis false, that idle story told
About our harp of plaintive tones,
That Väinämöinen, wizard old,
Once formed it from a fish's bones.

" From Misery the harp is sprung,
Its frame was moulded by Distress ;
The strings by Sorrow's hands were strung,
And the pegs turned by Wretchedness.

" O never may it wake to glee,
Nor leave its woeful plaint unsung,
Since it was born from Misery,
And Sorrow's hands the strings have strung.".

IV.

In conclusion, it must be added that there occur in the *Kalevala* a few verses which cannot be found in any existing folk-songs, and which were in all probability composed by Lönnrot himself. A list of these additions has been compiled by Krohn, and they are not very numerous. They were not inserted wilfully, but chiefly through the exigencies of the epic design which required connecting links between the different songs. Names are dealt with freely, as we have seen—though not more freely than by the folk-singers themselves—and incidents are freely transferred, but they are rarely manufactured. Two notable cases of actual invention are the loss of the first Kantele, and the spurious “Origin of Pearls,” which Lönnrot derived from the tears of Väinämöinen in Rune xli. Lönnrot’s favourite method of composition consisted in interpolating into the narrative a magic song, a lyric, or part of some other narrative. The introduction of magic songs and lyrics was, however, a custom of the folk-singers themselves. They did not actually sing them, we are told, like the rest of the runes, but occasionally paused in their singing and remarked: “Here follows such-and-such a magic song,”¹ or, “Here should follow the marriage songs which the women have handed down,”² after which they would immediately proceed with the narrative.

I have already mentioned several instances of the interpolation of part of one folk-story in the body of another; I will, however, give one more example to show how this process was sometimes employed for a purely artistic purpose.

The distinctly Homeric description of the little serving-maid who goes out early in the morning to perform her daily work, and is startled by hearing the cries of a stranger

¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

² *Ib.*, p. 117.

shore (vii. 133-168), is an interpolation (see the Archangel Sampo-Song), and is taken from given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. iii. song 130) "the Girl who laid a wager with the Sun." He concludes, however, that the alterations made by Ere as few and slight as was consistent with his welding the national songs into a continuous upon the whole," says Comparetti, "the *Kalevala* selected of materials entirely supplied by the folk original verses."¹

nd a summary of the foregoing analysis.

SUMMARY.

I. Main Themes of the *Kalevala*.

The Sampo-Songs.

The Archangel Sampo-Song.

Variants of Creation Song.

Variants of the Sampo-Rape.

Songs of Väinämöinen not belonging to the Sampo

2.

- (1) *The Birth of Väinämöinen.*
- (2) *The Rival Singers.*
- (3) *The Rival Suitors.*
- (4) *The Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee.*
- (5) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Vipunen.*
- (6) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Deathland.*
- (7) *The passing of Väinämöinen.*

The Songs of Lemminkäinen or Ahti.

- (1) *The Wooing of Kyllikki.*
- (2) *The Death and Restoration of Lemminkäinen.*

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

(3) *The Uninvited Guest and the Journey to Päivölä.*

(4) *Ahti's Sea Voyage.*

Lönnrot's first draft of the Lemminkäinen Runes.

D. The Songs of Kullervo.

(1) *The Revenge of Kaleva's Son.*

(a) *Against the Smith's Wife.*

(b) *Against Untamo.*

(2) *The Sister Violated.*

(3) *The Campaign.*

(4) *The Messengers of Death.*

II. Romances and other Folktales.

(1) *The Romance of Aino.*

(2) *The Fishing for the Mermaid.*

(3) *The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air.*

(4) *The Golden Bride.*

(5) *The Wooing of the Son of Kojo.*

(6) *The Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon.* The Tale of Turo, from the *Kanteletar*.

(7) *The Lay of the Virgin Marjatta.*

III. Magic Songs, &c.

(1) Origins.

(2) Charms and Magic Formulas.

(3) Lyrics.

(a) The Marriage Songs.

(b) The Origin of the Harp.

(c) The Introductory and Closing Songs.

IV. Additions apparently composed by Lönnrot himself.

DONALD BÁN AND THE BÓCAN.

BY W. A. CRAIGIE, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of June 19th, 1895.*)

THE following interesting Lochaber story is an abstract of two printed Gaelic versions, the first of which appeared in the *Gael*, vol. vi. p. 142 (1877), to which it was communicated by D. C. Macpherson, and the second in the *Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, p. 297 ff. (1890). The latter was got from an old Lochaber tailor, whose grandfather had personal experience of the supernatural being which figures in it.

Rather more than a century ago there died in Lochaber a man named Donald Bán, son of Angus (Domhnall Bán mac Aonghais), but better known as Donald Bán of the Goblin (Domhnall Bán a' Bhócain), from his experiences with a Bócan,¹ or goblin, which were well known to all the district. Donald was the last of the hunters of Macmhic-Raonuill, and belonged to the house of Keppoch, being according to some the son of Angus Odhar, son of Gilleanasbuig of Keppoch. He lived at Mounessie and Inverlaire in Glenspean, and his wife was of the MacGregors of Rannoch.

"It was on the hill that Donald first met with the Bócan," but who the Bócan was no one ever knew, and Donald never told it, if he knew it himself. Of course there were good guesses at it. Some believed it to be a "gille" of Donald's, who was killed at Culloden. Donald himself was present at that battle, and in making his escape was wounded in the leg,

¹ Sometimes written *Bóchdan*; in either case the pronunciation is *Bóchkan*, and the hero's name is pronounced *Dòll b'pán a' vóchkin*. The name of the spirit apparently corresponds to the Manx *buggane*.

and so captured, but released after trial. One incident his prison-time is mentioned which contains a curious touch. “While he was in prison he had a dream ; he saw himself Alastair Mac Cholla, and Domhnall Mac Raonuill Mhór drinking together. This Donald was the man of whom it was said that *he had two hearts*. He was taken prisoner at Falkirk, and executed at Carlisle.” The reason for identifying the “gille” with the Bócan was that on one occasion he had given to a “thigger” (*fear faighe*¹) more than pleased his master, and in the quarrel that followed, the gille said, “I will be avenged for this, alive or dead.”

Whatever he was, or whatever may have been his reason, the Bócan nearly ruined Donald by the mischief he did him. He destroyed all the food and injured the members of the household. The butter in particular was always dirtied by him. One time Ronald of Aberardair undertook to bring the butter clean to table, by holding his bonnet over it, and carrying his dirk in his hand, but it was dirtied all the same. At night they could get no sleep for stones and clods that came flying about ; “the Bócan was throwing things out of the walls, and they would hear them rattling at the head of Donald’s bed.”² Mr. John Mór MacDougall, the clergyman, slept a night or two in the house, but the Bócan would not come while he was there. The tailor’s grandfather Angus mac Alister Bán, had a different experience. “Something seized his two big toes, and he could not get free any more than if he had been caught by the smith’s tongs. He could not get moved. It was the Bócan, but he did nothing more to him.” High and low were witnesses to the prank which this spirit carried on, but not even Donald himself ever saw him in any shape whatever.

¹ This, like the Lowland *thigger*, Norse *Tigger*, denotes a poor man who asks assistance from his richer neighbour in the way of seed-corn, &c.

² For similar stone-throwing compare “Strange Pranks plaid by the Devil at Woodstock,” and the “Devil of Glenluce, &c.,” being Relations VI. and XI. in Sinclair’s *Satan’s Invisible World Discovered*.

So much did Donald suffer from his attacks that he finally decided to remove to another house, in hopes that the visitations would cease. He took everything with him except a harrow (*cliath chliata*), which he left at the side of the house, but before they had got far on the road the harrow was seen coming after them. "Stop, stop," said Donald, "if the harrow is coming after us we may as well go back again." So he returned, and made no further attempt to escape from the visitations. What the harrow had to do with it is left unexplained.

The Bócan had a particular spite against Donald's wife, the "Nic Ghriogair." The night he parted with Donald he went on the roof of the house, and cried, "Are you asleep, Donald Bán?" "Not just now," said Donald. "Put out that long grey tether, the MacGregor wife," said he. "I don't think I'll do it to-night," said Donald. "Come out yourself then, and leave your bonnet." The goodwife thought that he was outside, and whispered in Donald's ear as he was rising, "Won't you ask at him when the Prince will come?" Hardly were the words out of her mouth when the Bócan answered her, "Didn't you get enough of him before, you grey tether?"

The Rev. Mr. Sinclair's version gives a still more curious account of what took place at the Bócan's last visit. "The last night that the Bócan came he was saying that such and such other spirits were along with him. Donald's wife said to her husband, 'I should think that if they were along with him they would speak to us.' The Bócan answered, 'They are no more able to speak than the sole of your foot.' 'Come out here, Donald Bán,' said the Bócan. 'I will,' said Donald, 'and thanks be to the good Being that you have asked me.' Donald was going out, and taking his dirk along with him. 'Leave your dirk inside, Donald,' said the Bócan, 'and your knife (*sgian*) as well.' Donald went out, and he and the Bócan went through Acha-nan-Comhachan by night, and on through rivers and a birch-wood for about three miles

till they reached the stream of the Fert. When they got to this the Bócan showed him a hole where he had hid plough-irons while he was alive. While Donald was taking the plough-irons out of the hole the two eyes¹ of the Bócan were putting more fear on him than anything else he ever heard or saw. When he had got the irons, they went home to Mounessie, himself and the Bócan, and parted that night at the house of Donald Bán."

Donald had more connections with the supernatural world than this. A cousin of his mother was said to have been carried away by the fairies, and one night Donald saw him among them, dancing as hard as he could. He was also out hunting in the year of the great snow, and at nightfall saw a man on the back of a deer ascending a great rock. He heard the man saying, "Home, Donald Bán," and wisely took the advice, for that night there fell eleven feet of snow in the very place where he had intended to stay.

While Donald was troubled with his strange visitant, he composed a hymn which has been preserved by tradition. Though it gives but little information on the main point, it goes to prove the fact of the hauntings so far as proof can be asked for, and the following literal translation will show how Donald himself regarded the affair.

THE HYMN OF DONALD BÁN OF THE BÓCAN.

O God that createdst me so helpless,
Strengthen my belief and make it firm.
Command an angel to come from Paradise
And take up his abode in my dwelling,
To protect me from every trouble
That wicked folks are putting in my way ;
Jesus that didst suffer thy crucifixion,
Restrain their doings, and be with me thyself.

¹ Compare the "True Narrative of the Drummer of Tedworth," in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 71. "The exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great body with two red glowering or glaring eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappear'd."

Little wonder though I am thoughtful—
Always at the time when I go to bed
The stones and the clods will arise—
How could a saint get sleep there !
I am without peace or rest,
Without repose or sleep till the morning ;
O thou that art in the throne of grace,
Behold my treatment and be a guard to me.

Little wonder though I am troubled,
So many stories about me in every place,
Some that are unjust will be saying
“ It is all owing to himself, that affair.”
Judge not except as you know,
Though the Son of God were awaking you ;
No one knows if I have deserved more
Than a rich man that is without care.

Although I am in trouble at this time,
Verily, I shall be doubly repaid,
When the call comes to me from my Saviour
I shall receive mercy and new grace ;
I fear no more vexation
When I ascend to be with thy saints ;
O thou that sittest on the throne
Assist my speaking and accept my prayer.

O God, make me mindful
Night and day to be praying,
Seeking pardon richly
For what I have done, on my knees.
Stir with the Spirit of Truth
True repentance in my bosom,
That when thou dost send death to seek me,
Christ may take care of me.

Donald's troubles, although connected with a genuine Celtic goblin and presenting one or two peculiar features, are evidently of much the same class as those described in the narratives already mentioned in the foot-notes, and which have been heard of even down to our own day. Had there been any one at the time to write down all that was heard and seen, the story might have been much fuller, but

ANCIENT AND HOLY WELLS
LILIAN QUILLER-COUCH

UNDER this title is put out a list of nearly a hundred holy wells. of the late Mr. T. Quiller-Couch. The authors have described what they could glean from the folk-tradition the more interesting well-allusions could be got from. We have thus just what the wells with very little theorising upon.

Most of the wells seem to nearly all covered with a lid having a vaulted roof and generally find frequently a niche, which contains the patron saint ; now and then a stone to sit on. Moreover, in nearly every, the ruins of a chapel, or there : it is named, maybe, in some chapel farm hard by them. A large number of them are said to have lived the saint who is said to have lived there.

As regards the superstitions still in full force, and we find votive offerings, votive pins (once rare no more). Where this is found, lingers about them, so that it may be healthy to drink, as that of "pumpen water." Hardly anything remarkable about them ; the water is good for rheumatites, and that is about all.

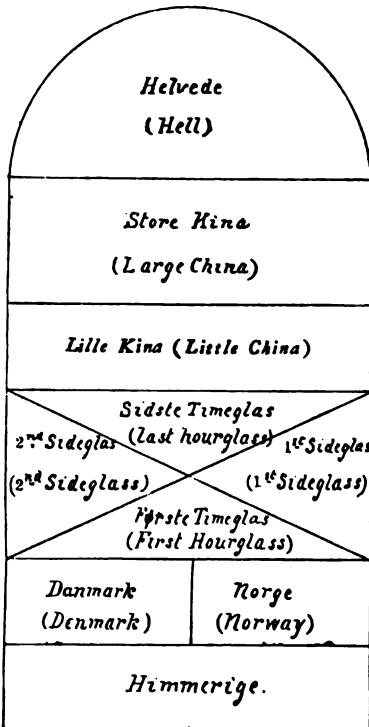
THE GAME OF HOPSCOTCH AS PLAYED IN DENMARK.

BY H. F. FEILBERG, PH. D.

(*Read at Meeting of June 19th, 1895.*)

Hopskok.

The name shows it must have been an emigrant from England. The stone is pushed out from room to room with the toe, the player hopping on one leg. By the cross and the line separating "Denmark" and "Norway," the player makes a turn. In the "first" and the "last Hourglass" and in "Hell," he must stand on both legs before and after he has pushed the stone. If A throws into a wrong room, or makes a wrong turn, or the stone being pushed or thrown, remains lying on one of the drawn lines, or is pushed outside by one of the sides of the figures or the corners, B has his turn to play, and so on. If A can pass through all the Hopskok three times without making blunders, he must the fourth time "hop the stone backwards out," which I think means—hop backwards pushing with heel instead of toe.



As played at Aarhus, Roskilde.
Copied after Dr. I. R. Hübertz, *Aktstykker vedk.* Aarhus (1845), II. 402.

Paradis.

A very common game, played by two persons, A and B. Each has a flat, round stone which he throws into the different rooms of the figure, beginning from 1. After the stone has been thrown into the right room A begins, hopping on one leg, and pushes it out over the bottom

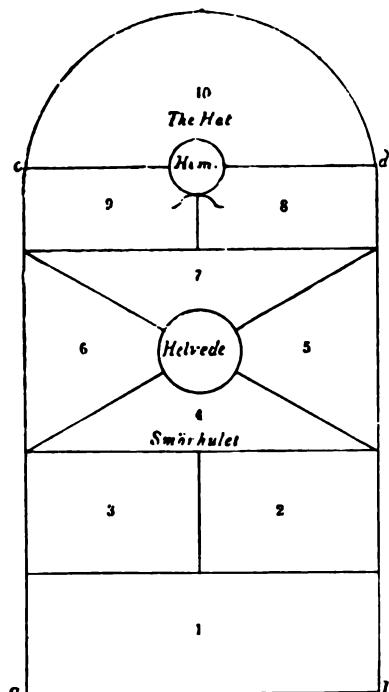
line of the figure, the lines *ab cd* being forbidden. If he sins against the rules of the games, *viz.* :—1, pushes his stone out by another way than the one allowed, or 2, touches with his foot any of the lines of the figure, his turn will be out, and B begins playing. A continuing, when his turn will arrive, from the number he has attained. If his stone is thrown or pushed into "Hell," he must begin from number 1 anew; if he comes into "Himmerig," he advances at once three numbers more forward into the "Hat."

Having arrived into the

"Hat," A must return through all the numbers 9—1.

Returning from the "Hat," A must pass through the different rooms:—

By three "fur," three "rør," three "nips," if I understand the description aright.



Him.=Himmerige.



9, 8, 7 by a "fur" each, that is to say by three pushes.
The stone is pushed forward by a push ("fur") of the toe of the foot:—



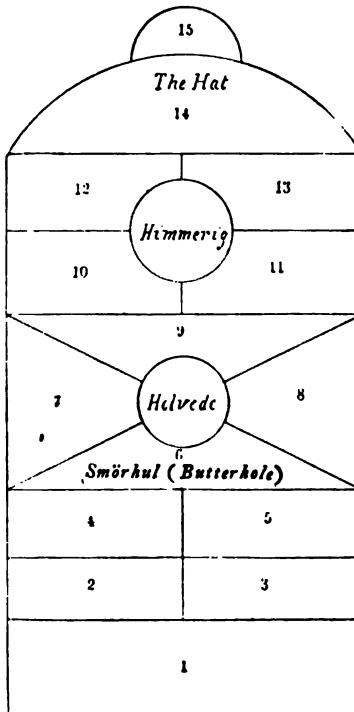
6, 5, 4 by a "rør" (touch) each. It is explained that you must push the stone standing on it:—

3, 2, 1 by a "nips" each. "Nips" may perhaps be explained as a light touch; the expression is scientifically used by the boys for the pushing movement produced by turning on the heel and pushing with the toe:



A, having duly got through all the rooms forwards and backwards, must hop three times through all the rooms of the figure without resting; if he succeed, he has won. If a stone gets outside the figure or is thrown into a wrong room A leaves off playing and B begins.

I have never used this play myself as a child, and can only give to-day the foregoing description, twenty years old, from Copenhagen. The obscurities I can't explain.



Copenhagen, twenty years ago, by an expert (Smörhul = butterhole).

REVIEWS.

ANCIENT AND HOLY WELLS OF CORNWALL. By MABEL and
LILIAN QUILLER-COUCH. Chas. J. Clark, 1895.

UNDER this title is put out a little book containing a description of nearly a hundred holy wells. It is based on a MS. collection of the late Mr. T. Quiller-Couch, and completed by his daughters. The authors have described what they saw, and given all the lore they could glean from the folk about the wells. They have illustrated the more interesting wells with pictures, and collected what allusions could be got from the various histories of Cornwall. We have thus just what the student wants, a collection of facts, with very little theorising upon them.

Most of the wells seem to be very picturesque. They are nearly all covered with a little building, like a small chapel, having a vaulted roof and Gothic or rounded door. Within we find frequently a niche, which, perhaps, served for the image of the patron saint; now and then a font or altar, and a stone slab to sit on. Moreover, in nearly all cases there is a church near by, the ruins of a chapel, or some trace that a chapel once stood there: it is named, maybe, in an old history, or has left its mark in some chapel farm hard by. Other wells have a cross beside them. A large number of them (43) are named after some saint, who is said to have lived there, or to have made the well.

As regards the superstitions connected with them, some are still in full force, and we find the usual bathing of the sick, divination, votive pins (once rags and once coins are mentioned, but no more). Where this is not the case, an odour of sanctity lingers about them, so that this water is preferred for christenings; or it may be there is just an impression that the water is healthy to drink, as that of St. Eunius is considered "better than pumpen water." Hardly any of the wells have anything naturally remarkable about them; one or two are chalybeate, one has stalactites, and that is about all.

Paradise, from the neighbourhood of Odense.

The player begins by placing himself at A with a flat stone in his hand. He throws it into the room No. 1, hops on one leg into the room, hopping the stone out again in the direction of A. In the same manner he proceeds to Nos. 2, 3, and so on. He loses his turn if the stone is thrown into a wrong room or remains on one of the lines, or he puts his foot on a line, or if the stone is pushed out in another direction than that of the Nos. 1 and 2. When the player has "hopped the stone out" from all the 9 rooms, he must "hoppe paradiset ud" (hop the paradise out), that is, he must on one leg hop from A into the "Hat," returning again to A, only putting his foot once (without stone I suppose) in each of the rooms, going from 1 to 4, 7, 9, 8, 6, 5, 3, 2.

A few notes I must add. There seem to be two different manners of playing :—

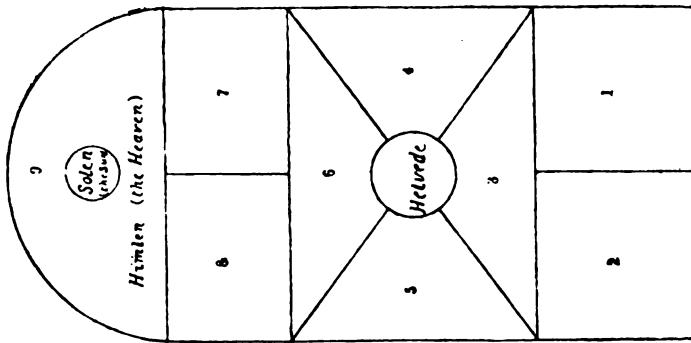
I. The stone is, from a point A at the bottom of the figure, thrown into each of the rooms successively, and again from each room by a more or less strong push, pushed out at the bottom of the figure.

II. The stone is thrown into the first room, and from that by the hopping player pushed into Nos. 2, 3, and so on, until he wins or loses his turn. Does he lose his turn in one of the rooms, say No. 8, he must, when his turn again comes, throw the stone from the bottom of the figure into No. 8, to begin there again. Where the diagonal lines are he is allowed to rest on both of his legs;¹ the same is applicable to the "Sun" figure. The game is little known in the country in Jutland; it is played there almost only in the towns. In Fyn and Salland it seems common in the country too, played equally by boys and girls.

¹ That is, one in 5 and the other in 4, or one in 6 and the other in 3.

Hopscotch in Denmark.

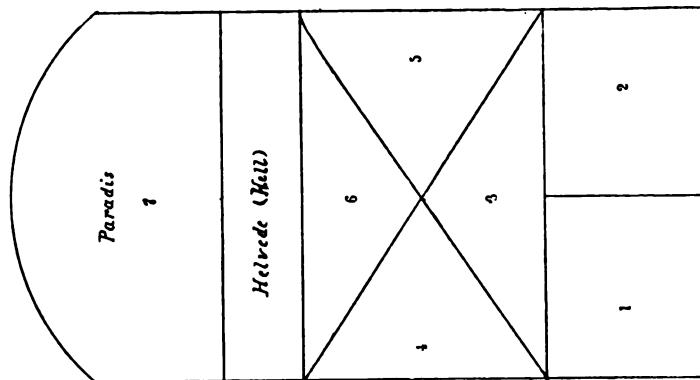
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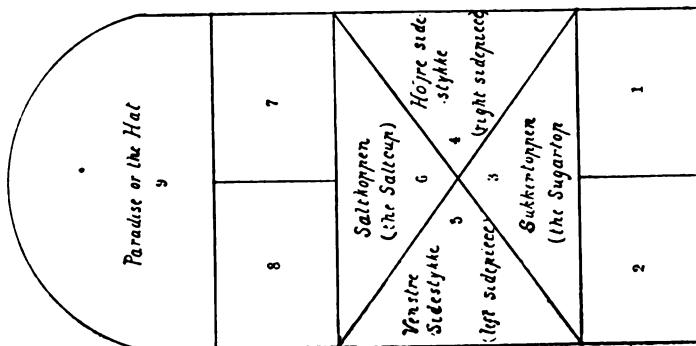
From Åbeltoft, East Jutland.

Nos. 1 and 2 are called forgaarden
(the forecast).

Nos. 7 and 8 are called skyerne (the
clouds).



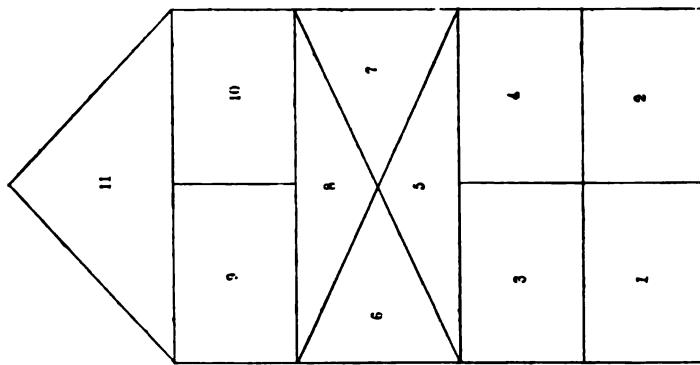
Paradiis, drawn for me by a child at Askov.



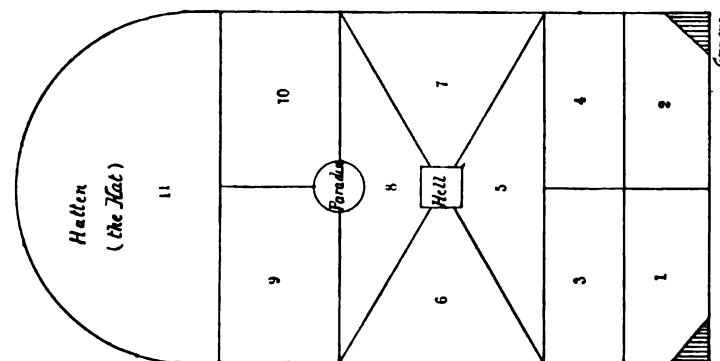
A
From the neighbourhood of Odense
Fyen.

Nos. 1 and 2 are called ruderne (the
window panes or diamonds).

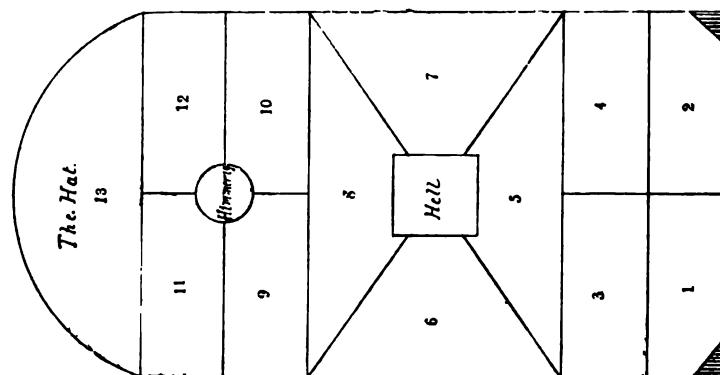
Nos. 7 and 8 are called the H's.



At høje til/paradis (to hop to paradise)
Fyn, Denmark.



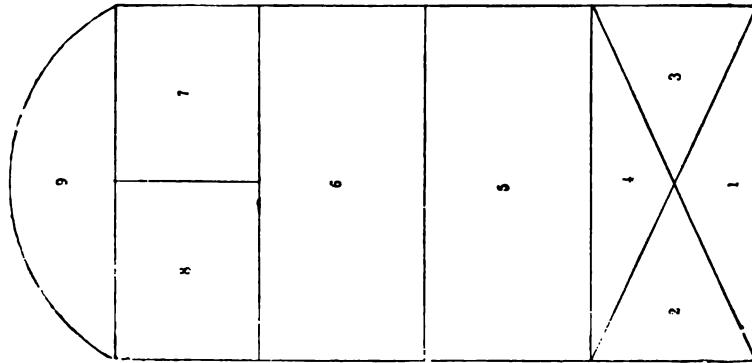
Paradis, Copenhagen, 1895 spring:



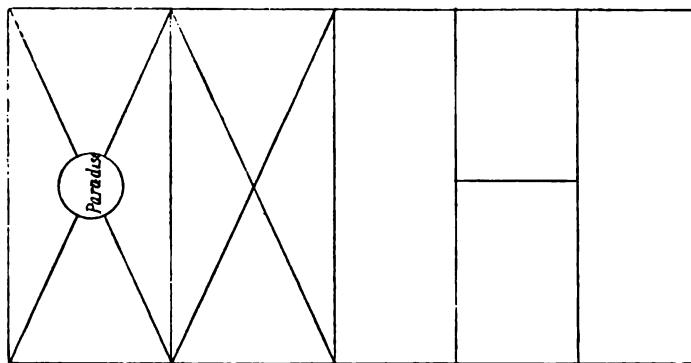
Paradis, Copenhagen, 1895, spring;
himmelrig=heaven.

Hopscotch in Denmark.

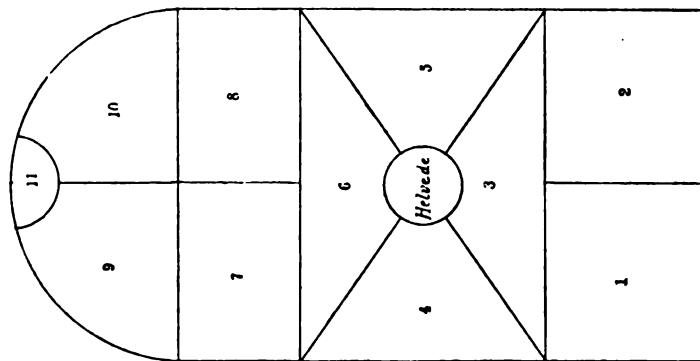
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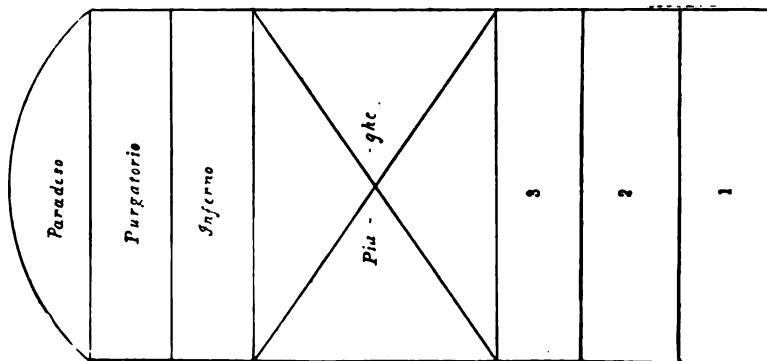
Mörs Gyta (mother's pot), from Åbo,
Finland; "must be hopped with crossed
feet as reel is danced,"



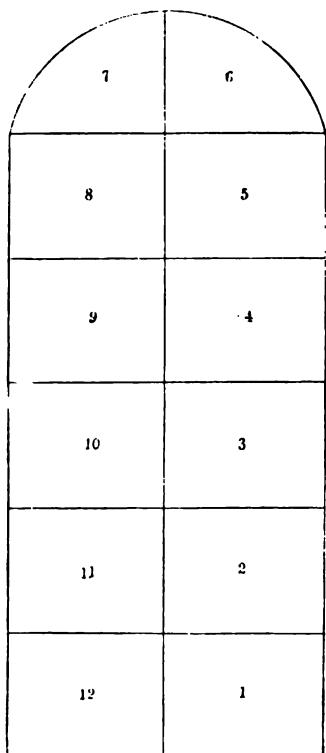
From Visby, Gotland [Gulland],
Sweden, where it is called *Hage*
perhaps in the sense of inclosure.



Paradiſ, drawn for me by a young
person at Askov. It is called *maanen*
(the moon).



*Lat. Campana, from the Matches of Italy. A Giannandrea, in *Kristian's Lat. Papr.* (Rome, 1877), p. 286. Cf. Pitti,*



Røghætten = Smoke-hat (i.e. Chimney-hood, Turncap).

The game is called "hoppe i røghætte" (hop in the turn-cap). The stone is thrown from room to room, and with a sudden push by the toe pushed out by the way of No. 12-1, the player hopping on one leg. Having finished all the rooms, the stone is pushed from No. 1 to 2, to 3, and so on, through all the rooms, one by one, by the hopping player, until he comes out at No. 12. Treading on a line, or the stone by the push remaining on a line or coming out the wrong way, the turn is lost and another player begins.

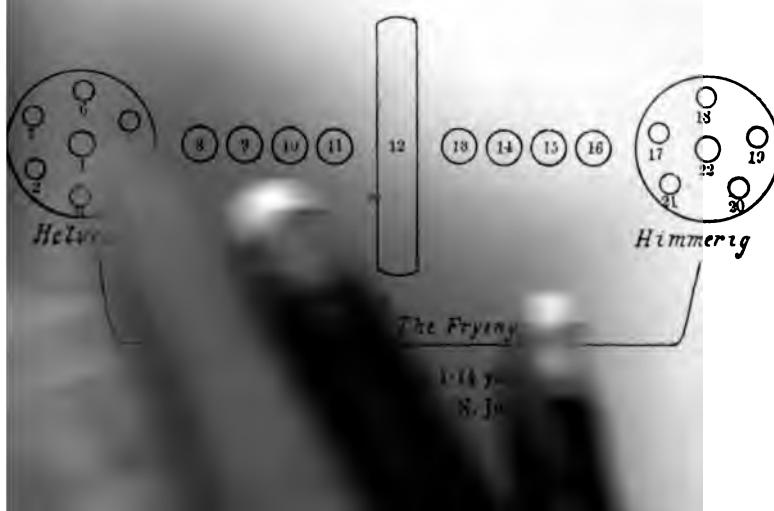
From Ebeltoft, East Jutland.

Himmerige of Helvede.

Two play. A clasp-knife is half-opened  the players, A and B, throw alternately. The object is that the knife thrown up in the air, falling, may remain standing on the point in the ground. The circles and holes are cut with a knife in the sward by the small herdboys. A begins by putting a small wooden stick into the central hole of Hell, saying :

"I Helvedes gråw
sætter a min staw,
guj læ mæ te Himmerig komm'!" (Jutl. dialect.)
(In the pit of Hell
I put my stick,
God let me to Heaven come !)

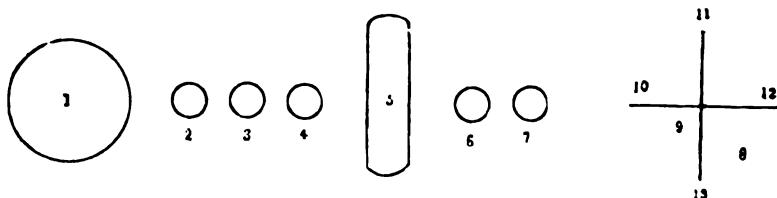
Every throw or cast that is lucky wins a point, as the points are numbered on the drawing. In the pan (12) the stick always was put lengthwise, and it was deemed an uncommonly hard case to stay there for a long time, because the person staying there was supposed to be fried dreadfully. Who first reaches the centre hole of heaven wins.



Kaste Lykke til Himmerige.

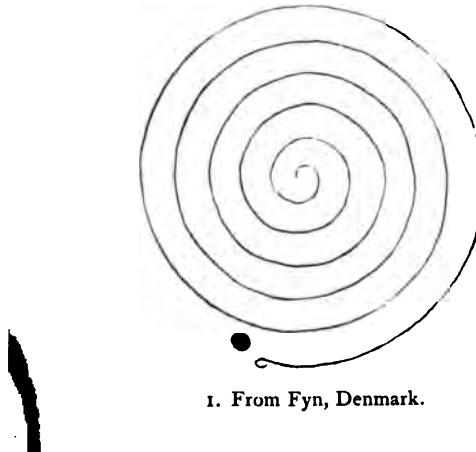
(Throw Luck to Heaven.)

Here a clasped knife is used with some mark on blade or handle, quite as when you play pitch and toss. The cast tells when the knife thrown up falls down lying, the mark uppermost. A proceeds, throwing as many times as the knife falls having the mark uppermost. Only it is to be observed that the player must go three times round "Heaven," five points every time. The wooden stick, being the mark, is of course moved from place to place.



From Darum, W. Jutland.

1. Helvede (Hell).
- 2, 3, 4. Musehuller (Mouseholes).
5. Smörfjerdingen (the Buttercask).
- 6, 7. Musehuller.
8. Himmerig (Heaven).

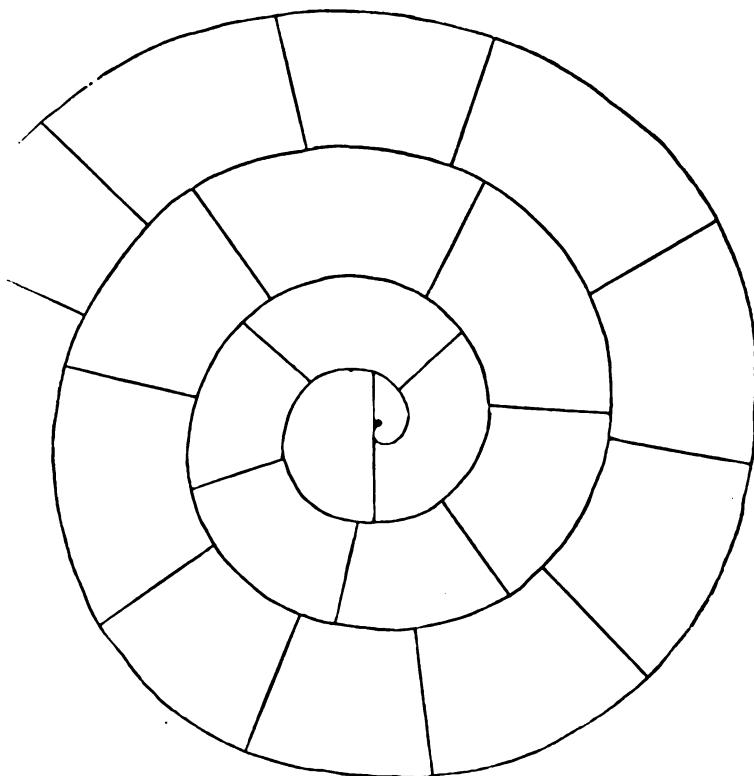


1. From Fyn, Denmark.

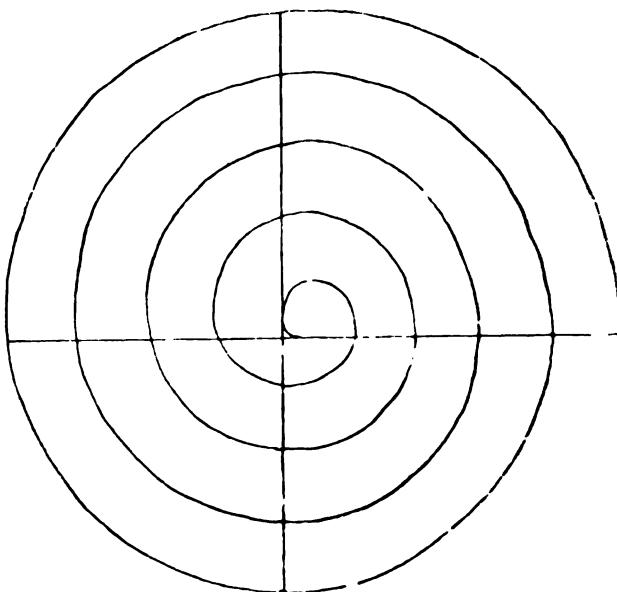
Snegl (Snail).

A and B. A puts his stone at the beginning of the "Snail," pushing it, hopping on one leg, before him, trying to get into the centre. Having arrived there he is allowed a short rest on his both legs. Afterwards he is to push his stone out again, hopping on one

leg. If he succeed without ever touching the line with his foot or with the stone, he wins. As soon as he touches, B comes in.



2. From Copenhagen, 1895.



3. This figure is copied by a friend of mine from the streets of Stockholm,
Spring, 1895.

Since the above paper was read Dr. Feilberg has sent
the following further communication to Mr. J. G. Frazer, to
whom the above was in the first instance also addressed:—

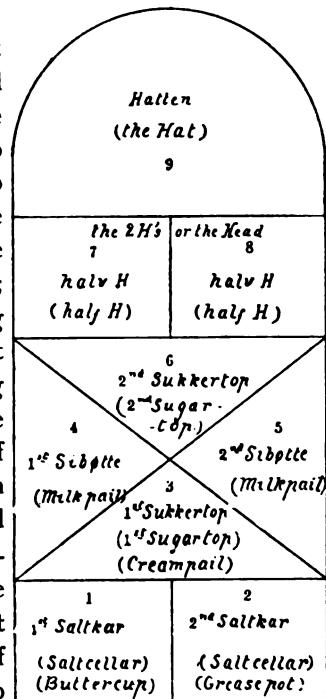
DEAR MR. FRAZER,

Enclosed I send you the last diagrams from the same
neighbourhood, only with a small difference of names marked
with red ink, else in everything similar. I have translated
verbo tenus, as well as I was able, the little girl's curious
explanation, hoping to amuse you by it.

Yours most truly,

H. F. FEILBERG.

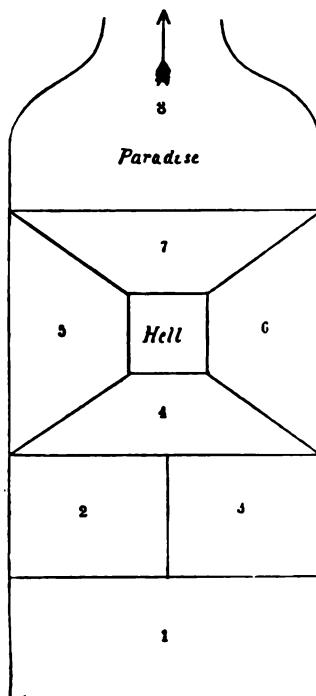
"Now I suppose that Hulfred and myself are going to 'hop Paradise.' Now you can begin, Hulfred! She throws a stone into the first 'saltkar,' and begins hopping. The fact is she must hop on one leg, and if she puts the other foot to the ground she is not allowed to hop any more, for then I am to go into her place; and if she treads upon the line, then she is not allowed to hop any more; and if the stone remains lying on the line as she pushes it hopping, then also I am going to take her place; and if the stone bolts out through one of the sides of the figure, or through its corner, she is also not allowed to proceed; and if she succeeds in pushing out the stone she is not allowed to hop out by the side or the corner of the figure, but she must hop out nicely behind the stone. As soon as she has hopped the stone out from the one 'saltkar,' she throws it into the second, and when she has hopped it out from this place she throws it into the first 'sukkertop,' and when she has hopped it out from this place, without putting her foot on the line, or hopping the stone out by the side or the corner of the figure, then she throws it into one of the 'sibøtter,' afterwards into the second 'sukkertop,' and when she has hopped it out she throws it up into the one 'half H', afterwards into the second, and at last into the 'Hat'; then she hops it out, and having hopped it out she throws it the second time up, and when she hops up past it she must hop into all the rooms, afterwards round the 'Hat.' Then, taking the stone, she



hops down with it in her hand, and the play begins over again. Now I think that I have written everything how it is to 'hop paradise.'

"Greetings from KIRSTINE SØRENSEN and
HULFRED ANDREASEN."

(Children of about ten years of age, from the neighbourhood of Odense, Fyn.)



From the neighbourhood of Grenaa, East Jutland, communicated by Professor la Cour as played in his childhood, about thirty years ago. In Hell the player, if his stone remained lying there, was lost; from Paradise the stone was pushed in the direction of the arrow; no other names as far as he remembered.

THE "WITCH-BURNING" AT CLONMEL.

THE interest of many of the details disclosed in the recent trial, and the preliminary proceedings before the magistrates of Clonmel, has moved the Council of the Society to direct that the following analysis of the evidence shall be printed, so as to preserve the relevant facts in a form accessible to scientific students.

In the month of March last rumours were afloat in the neighbourhood concerning the mysterious disappearance of Bridget Cleary, aged about twenty-six years, the wife of Michael Cleary, residing at Ballyvadlea, a remote and isolated district a short distance from Cloneen, between that village and Mullinahone, in the county of Tipperary. Ultimately Michael Cleary, Patrick Boland (father of Bridget Cleary), John Dunne, Patrick, James, Michael, and Mary Kennedy, and William Ahearne were brought before the magistrates, charged with assaulting and illtreating Bridget Cleary on the 14th March, and causing her actual bodily harm. Her body had not then been found. The prisoners were remanded, and search was made for the missing woman. On Friday, the 22nd March, the body was discovered, buried in a cramped position, in a piece of swampy land about a quarter of a mile from Cleary's house. An inquest was held and the jury returned a verdict of death caused by extensive burns. These burns, as the evidence showed, were on the abdomen, the lower part of the back, and the left hand.

On the resumption of the magisterial inquiry, in addition to the prisoners already named, William Kennedy and Denis Ganey, a herb-doctor, were also included in the charge. All the Kennedys were cousins of the deceased, except Mary Kennedy, who was her aunt. The report of the proceedings in *The Irish Times* of the 26th, 27th, 28th March, and the 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 8th April last, is here followed.

The most important witness for the Crown was Mrs. Johannah Burke, wife of a labourer residing at Rath Kenney near the Clearys. She stated that on the night of Thursday, the 14th March, she went up to see Mrs. Cleary, who was ill, and met William Simpson and his wife outside the door of the house, which was locked. "Witness asked for admittance, but Michael Cleary said they would not open the door. While they remained outside they stood at the window. They heard someone inside saying: 'Take it, you —,' or 'witch.' When the door was opened, witness went in and saw Dunne and three of the Kennedys holding Mrs. Cleary down on her bed by her hands and feet, and her husband was giving her herbs and milk in a spoon out of a saucepan. They forced her to take the herbs, and Cleary asked her: 'Are you Mary Boland, the wife of Michael Cleary, in the name of God?' She answered it once or twice, and her father asked a similar question. Michael Cleary [witness thought] then threw a certain liquid on his wife. They put the question to her again, and she used to repeat the words after them. John Dunne then said: 'Hold her over the fire, and she will soon answer.' Dunne, Cleary and P. Kennedy then lifted Mrs. Cleary off the bed, and placed her in a kind of sitting position over the kitchen fire, which was a slow one. Mrs. Cleary's appearance had greatly changed. She seemed to be wild and deranged, especially while they were so treating her. While they held her over the fire, she had only her nightdress and chemise on. They repeated the question, and she answered: 'I am Bridget Boland, daughter of Pat Boland, in the name of God.' She screamed and cried out to me: 'Oh Han, Han!' They put her back to bed . . . Nothing more happened when they put her back to bed about 11 o'clock. They all stayed in the house till next morning at 6 o'clock, except Dunne and Ahearne, who went after two o'clock. Mrs. Cleary never went to sleep. She was nervous and not

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a lighting stick out of the fire. She was lying on the floor, and he held it near her mouth. My mother and brothers and myself wanted to leave the house when he flung her on the floor, but Michael Cleary had the key of the door in his pocket, and said the door would not be opened until he got his wife back." According to the report, District Inspector Wansborough, who was prosecuting, then asked a shamefully leading question, which would not have been tolerated in an English court of justice; but different principles prevail in Irish courts: "'Did you see him throw the lamp-oil on her?'—I did. . . . 'Did she say anything when she was burning?'—She did. She turned and called out to me, in a mournful tone, 'Oh Han, Han!'—'What did you reply?'—I endeavoured to get out for the peelers. My brother, when he could not get the key, went up into the other room, and fell in a weakness. My mother threw Easter water on him.—'Where was Bridget Cleary all this time?'—She was burning on the hearth. The house was full of smoke and smell. I had to go up to the room. I could not stand. When I looked down to the kitchen I saw the remains of Bridget Cleary on the floor, lying on a sheet. She was lying on her face, and her legs turned upwards as if they had contracted in the burning." The unfortunate woman was then dead. Michael Cleary came up into the room where the witness was and fetched a large sack. "He said, 'Hold your tongue, Hannah. It is not Bridget I am burning. You will soon see her go up in the chimney.' He went down to the kitchen with the sack, and when I looked down again the body had been burned. When she was burning, Michael Cleary screamed out, 'She is burned now, but God knows I did not mean to do it. I may thank Jack Dunne for all of it.'" Cleary and witness's brother Patrick then took the body away to bury it.

Some additional particulars were given by other witnesses who were called to corroborate this hideous story. Katie Burke, a little girl, daughter of the previous witness,

said that Michael Cleary knocked his wife down when she would not eat the third bit of bread. "Then he got a red stump and told her he would put it down her mouth if she would not eat the bit. She did not eat it. Then he caught her and laid her on the fire. Then she took fire. He got lamp-oil and put it on her and she blazed up. When she was burning James and William Kennedy roared for the key, and they did not get it. William Kennedy and Mrs. Burke tried to get the key. . . . Then they went in the room and witness heard Michael Cleary say: 'Go up the chimney!' but did not know what name he called her. Mrs. Cleary was burning, and witness saw a sheet on the floor."

William Simpson of Ballyvadlea, caretaker, who, it will be remembered, met Mrs. Burke outside the door of Cleary's cottage on Thursday evening, was examined on 1st April and said, among other things: "He could not say who opened the door. As he went in he heard loud shouts of 'Away she go, away she go!' He could not say who said that. The men who were holding the deceased were saying it. . . . John Dunne was holding her by the head; Pat Kennedy was holding her arm on the right side; James was holding her on the left side; William Kennedy was holding her by the legs. . . . Deceased was lying upon her back. . . . She appeared to be in pain. She shouted and screamed a little at that time. She screamed more afterwards than she did then. . . . Mrs. Cleary's husband was standing by the bed. He was holding a saucepan in both hands. He asked deceased: 'Are you Bridget Boland, the wife of Michael Cleary, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost?' She made some reply to the effect 'Yes, I am.' . . . The questions were repeated several times: she only answered a few times. Witness saw Michael Cleary afterwards giving his wife some liquids in a spoon out of the saucepan." Asked what was in the saucepan, witness said: "I don't know, but I heard that it

was herbs. I did not hear that anything else was in it. I heard Michael Cleary say that he got some herbs from Ganey. . . . Cleary was forcing the herbs into the mouth of the deceased. She resisted by keeping her mouth closed. The liquid was forced in. Besides this, water¹ was thrown on her. This was called for by Michael Cleary, and was fetched by Mary Kennedy from an adjoining room. This was brought three or four times, and the process of throwing it on her lasted at intervals over a period of ten or twenty minutes. The father and husband were both asking her questions in the meantime." They apparently repeated again and again the question above-mentioned. There were now thirteen persons in the room, including the witness. Colonel Evanson, the presiding magistrate, asked : "'What were they there for, in your opinion?'—To hunt away the witches and fairies. The door was open for that purpose. I don't know that they came for that purpose, but when they were there they were at that work. I went to see Mrs. Cleary." The witness was asked : "'Did not Mrs. Cleary at all reply to the questions put to her?'—She did when she was on the fire. Her father asked her: 'Are you the daughter of Patrick Boland, wife of Michael Cleary? Answer in the name of God.' She answered: 'I am, dada.' Her husband asked her a similar question then, and she said: 'Yes, I am.' Those questions were answered repeatedly by her. They were then satisfied that they had their own.—'What do you mean by that?'—That they had Mrs. Cleary, and not a witch.—'Then what had they got before?'—They believed that they had a witch. About

¹ According to the *Cork Examiner* and other reports, this is called "a certain noxious fluid." Mr. Leland L. Duncan writes: "I specially noted the phrase for enquiry this summer. I found the good folk of Leitrim full of the case, and they told me several little similar tales. From these it appears that the great charm for getting people back from 'the good people' is to throw over them a concoction of strong urine and hen's excrement. This choice compound, or at any rate part of it, is evidently here the 'certain noxious fluid.'"

twenty minutes before she was taken off the bed she screamed terribly. That was when the medicine went down. They also shook her then, and slapped her hands. The same men held her from start to finish. When they were shaking her they all said: 'Away with you! Come home, Bridget Boland, in the name of God!' "¹ After deceased was removed from the fire and fresh clothing put on her, "she was then asked by her husband did she know the persons standing around her, and she said 'Yes.' He showed her one of the Kennedys in particular and asked her what relation was he to her, and she said her first cousin. And he asked her in turn did she know each person in the room, and she said she did. They were all satisfied then that they had her. They were all speaking and saying: 'Do you think it is her that is here?' And the answer would be 'Yes'; and they were all delighted at it." All this took place on Thursday, the 14th March, the first of the two days spoken of by Mrs. Burke. Simpson gave further important evidence. "Witness saw Michael Cleary on the road on the same day that he heard Mrs. Cleary was missing [apparently Saturday, the 16th March], and again on the Sunday following. Cleary said that his wife left the house at 12 o'clock on Friday night. Witness believed him. He saw Cleary again about 7 or 8 o'clock that evening. He asked witness for the loan of a revolver. He said that those parties who had convinced him about his wife would not go with him to the fort." Asked what was meant by that, the witness said: "It appeared to me that they had convinced him that his wife had gone to the fort.

¹ According to some of the reports "a man at each side of the bed kept the body swinging about the whole time." Mr. Duncan says: "There is evidently some virtue in the swinging business. I was told that one way of getting a child back was to seat it on a shovel and swing it out of the door back and forward, saying: 'If you're a fairy, away with you!' You should also, previous to this little ceremony, give it lusmore (foxglove), three drops on the tongue and three in each ear. This explains the herb so frequently mentioned."

—‘What was the fort?’—The fort at Kylenagranagh Hill. It appeared to me that they had convinced him that his wife had gone with fairies, and as they had convinced him so far he should see it out with them.—‘He wanted a revolver to force them to go?’—Yes. The fort was reported to be a fairies’ habitation. Cleary said he expected to meet her at the fort.—‘Did he say how he expected her to appear?’—He said she would be riding a grey horse, and she had told him so. And he said that they should cut the ropes that were tying her on the saddle, and she would then stay with him if he was able to keep her. Witness did not lend him a revolver, but afterwards saw Cleary with a big table-knife in his pocket to go to the fort with.”

Mary Simpson, wife of William Simpson, corroborated these statements. She also said that when the door was opened, on the Thursday evening, and she and her husband went in with Mrs. Burke and her daughter, “she heard the men inside then say: ‘Away she goes, away she goes!’ as though they were driving something out of the house. It appeared to her that they did not believe Mrs. Cleary was there, and that they wanted to drive away what was in the bed. . . . They thought it was a witch, but I did not.” She further stated that when Cleary was giving his wife the herbs he said: “Take that, in the name of God,” and “Bridget Cleary come back to me in the name of God!”

The Rev. Cornelius F. Ryan “deposed that he was curate of the parish of Drangan. The Clearys were members of his congregation, and under his spiritual charge. He had known them for about a year and a half, and never observed any signs of mental derangement in Mrs. Cleary until he attended her almost immediately before her death, on the 13th March. As far as he could say, she and her husband were living on good terms with each other. When he visited her on the afternoon of the 13th she was in bed. She appeared to be in a very nervous state, and, as he thought possibly hysterical, he came to the conclusion that

it might be the beginning of mental derangement. She did not converse with him except as a priest; and her conversation was quite coherent and intelligible." Mr. Ryan administered the last rites of the church to her on that occasion; and on Friday morning, the 15th, he came again, being summoned by Cleary, and celebrated Mass in her room. A piece of evidence follows which ought to be carefully borne in mind, especially in reference to denials by ministers of religion of the existence of superstitious practices and beliefs in their neighbourhood. The witness was asked by the District Inspector: "Is it possible that you heard nothing of these proceeding about witchcraft?" And he replied: "Up to the time [*sic*] I heard nothing—absolutely nothing!" "Don't you think that very extraordinary?" enquired the Inspector. "No," he replied, "I do not. The priest is very often the last to hear of things like that—generally, I should say. I heard a rumour on the Saturday after, that Mrs. Cleary had disappeared mysteriously. I had no suspicion of foul play or witchcraft, and if I had I should have at once absolutely refused to say Mass in the house, and have given information to the police at once."

Dr. Crean gave evidence that he attended the deceased on the 13th March and found her suffering from a slight bronchial catarrh and nervous excitement.

Ultimately, all the prisoners except Ganey (who was discharged) were committed for trial on the charge of wilful murder.

A few extracts may be added from the statements made by the prisoners on their committal. Boland, among other things, said: "Said Cleary to me: 'Have you any faith? Don't you know it is with an old witch I am sleeping?' I said: 'You are not. You are sleeping with my daughter.'" Mary Kennedy "said that on Wednesday she was sent for by Michael Cleary to go down and see his wife. She went down and saw her, and she complained of suffering from a

pain in her head. She said that Michael Cleary was making a fairy of her, and that he had tried to burn her three months ago." John Dunne stated that after the murder Cleary told him: "She was not my wife. She was too fine to be my wife. She was two inches taller than my wife." After going to the priest on Sunday, Cleary "asked him (Dunne) would he go look for her to the fort that evening. He replied that he would not; that that was only moonshine. Cleary said that he was sure that the woman was there; that it was not his wife that he burned." James Kennedy stated that "they," meaning apparently his brother William, Cleary and himself, "went three nights to the fort at Kylenagranagh, but did not see anything."

The trial took place at Clonmel on the 4th and 5th July last, before Mr. Justice O'Brien and a jury. No further illustration of the superstition was elicited save what follows, taken from the evidence of Mrs. Burke, reported in *The Irish Times* of the 6th July. "On cross-examination by Dr. Falconer, witness said she was in Cleary's house when Cleary said to William Simpson that the house was full of fairies. That was on Thursday. He said that not one fairy was going out of the door, but several. 'At the time the body was burned was the Rosary said?'—Yes. At the time the body was laid on the sheet my mother said: 'In the name of God, let you go anywhere and say the Rosary. It was the devil that whispered it into his ears.' Cleary then said to Dunne: 'I have something here that will make her all right.' Dunne said: 'It is not to-day you have a right to get anything for her; it is not in Fethard you had a right to be for a doctor. Three days ago you had a right to be beyond with Ganey, for the doctor had nothing to do with her. It is not your wife is there. You will have enough to do to bring her back. This is the eighth day, and you had a right to have gone to Ganey on the fifth day.' He added that the herbs should be given to her on the fifth day.—'Did he mention the name of the herb? Did he say

it was lusmore?'—No; he said it was the seventh brother of the seventh sister, or the seventh sister of the seventh brother, or something like that. He said that was the last herb that could be given to her; and he said it would either kill or cure. He had herbs in his hand; and he gave instructions to Michael Cleary to boil them, and make the sign of the cross, and go round the house making pishrogues. Cleary asked Dunne was he doing it right, and Dunne said he was. Then Cleary went round the house making pishrogues and charms. Dunne whispered to Cleary, so that I should not hear what the charm was. Cleary made no fairy of her; it was all Dunne's fault. Cleary was fond of his wife and had the priest to attend her."¹

The result of the trial was that all the prisoners were found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to various terms of penal servitude and imprisonment, the sentence on Cleary being that of twenty years' penal servitude.

It is not intended here to discuss the details of the superstitions alluded to by the witnesses, as to which many interesting questions arise. Be it sufficient to point out that though the word *witch* is frequently used, it is abundantly clear that, whether Cleary was or was not himself a dupe (as to which a careful reading of the evidence may suggest a doubt), the majority of the prisoners were at first under the impression that Bridget Cleary had been taken away by the fairies and a changeling substituted, though this impression seems to have been removed from the minds of most of them after she was placed on the fire on the Thursday evening.

It would only seem necessary to add a protest, in the interest of the due administration of the law, against the article by Mr. E. F. Benson in the *Nineteenth Century* for June last. Some of Mr. Benson's interpretations of the

¹ Here it was obvious, as the judge pointed out to the jury, that the witness was trying to screen her relative Cleary at the expense of Dunne.

evidence before the magistrates are disputable; but whether they are right or wrong is not the point. The article in question was published before the trial. It was an attempt to influence public opinion upon a case that was still *sui judice*. And, however unlikely to reach the jurymen who would have to try the guilt of the prisoners, it ought not to have been published at that time.

REVIEWS.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES, BEING PART OF AN INQUIRY
INTO THE STRUCTURE AND METHODS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY.
By FREDERIC SEEBOHM, LL.D., F.S.A. London: Longmans,
Green & Co., 1895.

MR. SEEBOHM has undertaken a difficult and very important task, namely, the investigation of the tribal system of ancient society; and this volume, limited to the Welsh portion of the subject, is a first instalment. It would be presumptuous on my part to pretend to criticise Mr. Seebohm's work from exactly the standpoint he has adopted, but it may not be altogether so if I attempt to consider it by the light of its extreme importance to the student of folklore. There is no more fruitful source of error to our science than to suppose that folklore is limited to myth, belief and custom unconnected with the social organisations which formed the shell within which all the life of early man was moulded. I would add that there is as much possibility of error to those who study institutions without the aid that folklore has the power to give.

Now it would be affectation to deny that Mr. Seebohm has produced a masterly study of early Welsh tribal society without apparently being much indebted to folklore. But I very much question whether his is not an unacknowledged debt of greater value than perhaps he is aware. It is quite true that he claims an economic value only (p. 238) for his results, and therefore seems to forestall any objections which might be raised by those who consider that economics cannot claim all; but he treads dangerously near the territory of institutional folklore when he notices the customs which tell so forcibly of the worship of the hearth. And it is exactly here that Mr. Seebohm just misses the full output of his own research. The economical conditions of early tribal societies were not the result of the free development of

natural economic laws; and perhaps the most powerful factor operating against such a development must be looked for in what is now known as folklore. Mr. Seebohm somewhat tardily recognises this when he says: "We may be thankful even to folklore for reminding us that the ties of Cymric blood relationship may have had religious sanctions long ago obscured, if not altogether obliterated by Christian and ecclesiastical influences" (p. 86). And, again, when he admits that legends of Irish chieftainship "are not without value when real history is wanting" (p. 143). I fancy that before the students of early institutions have finished their labours they will have to be more respectful to a science which will yield them as much fruitful material as, if not more than, the meagre and often misleading sentences of legal deeds and monkish chronicles.

But I do not wish to lay too much stress upon this deficiency of Mr. Seebohm's book. It is in truth a deficiency that almost any one of us might supply for himself; and no greater testimony can be given to the value of Mr. Seebohm's researches than this fact. He has worked so carefully and so correctly through the manuscripts by which he has been guided, that his results might be taken up at any point and continued by students of other branches of institutional history. There would be little or no going back upon Mr. Seebohm's work. All that would be necessary would be to gather up the ends of the threads as he has left them, and to weave on to them the new work.

Mr. Seebohm's method is quite familiar to us now. He takes up the details supplied by some late legal documents—in this case the "Extents," temp. Edward I. and Edward III.—and after exhaustively analysing them and getting from them all the conclusions that they can give of themselves, he turns back to some earlier documents—in this case the codes of Welsh law and the traditions supplied by chronicles—and ascertains how much of the later evidence is represented also in the earlier, and what additional evidence is supplied. Nothing could be better stated than such an argument as this. It must convince even the most sceptical that the society depicted in legal documents is not depicted in full, that the description is merely that of the framework—a framework, too, which is so well known to the scribes and the persons interested in the documents under examination, that it does not need and does not obtain anything more than

a most cursory and elementary description. Mr. Seebohm has proved once for all that documentary evidence can only be studied by the light of other evidence, and by the same scientific process as one studies other material for the history of man. He has proved once for all that evidence recorded of a later period is evidence also of unchanged facts of an early period. What this early period may be, and how far back we may in turn trace it, is a question yet to be solved. At all events we have in Mr. Seebohm's work a solid basis upon which to begin investigation into this part of the subject.

Mr. Seebohm finds that under the Welsh tribal system "there were two great classes, those of Cymric blood and those who were strangers in blood. There was a deep if not impassable gulf between these two classes quite apart from any question of land or of conquest. It was a division in blood. And it soon becomes apparent that the tenacity with which the distinction was maintained was at once one of the strong distinctive marks of the tribal system and one of the main secrets of its strength" (p. 55). If to this we add the words "and of its origin," I think we have as good a definition of the essentials of the tribal system everywhere as could well be found. Through the interesting evidence as to the kin-shattered person, the holding together of the kindred, the marrying of daughters, and other necessary elements, Mr. Seebohm traces out the structure of tribal society with masterly force and directness of purpose. He misses the significance of tribal rights having been secured through maternal kinship when a full tribeswoman married a non-tribesman ; he understates the significance of the hearth cult ; but he nowhere leads the student beyond the line marked by the evidence upon which he almost exclusively relies. The relation of the tribe to the land is the portion of the subject which Mr. Seebohm treats with the greatest possible skill and success, and we arrive finally at the cluster of homesteads into groups from which the *gwesta*, or *tunc* pound in lieu of it, was due—that clustering which in his earlier book, the *English Village Community*, he defined as supplying "obviously distinctive features arising from the tribal holding of land, and that the system was adopted apparently to facilitate the division of the land among the families in the tribe." On the whole Mr. Seebohm's new researches do not seem to have enabled him to advance upon this definition. He takes the clustering

and the food-rents connected therewith as an inherent part of the tribal system, going back to the earliest Cymric times, and inference to the earliest tribal times (see p. 230). It is this inference which I venture to think is not proven. The Cymry conquerors of Wales under Cunedda, from whom Mr. Seeböhm has evidence as to the Welsh tribal system (p. 148), were not not the first occupiers of Welsh territory, but not the first Celts occupiers, for they drove out their cousins the Goedelw Celts. But, more than this, they were post-Roman conquerors of Wales and probably, as Professor Rhys points out with some force, saturated with Roman ceremonial, aided by Roman organisation and descended from Roman fathers (*Celtic Britain*, p. 102). Nowhere perhaps in all Britain was the Roman power more consolidated than in Wales; and it is just here that we meet with the curious artificial grouping of tax-paying units. The evidence of India affords many examples of the same sort of artificial grouping arising out of primitive tribes coming under the taxation system of Imperial Britain, as, for instance, in the Kangra district so well described by Mr. Lyall; and there seems to me little doubt that the artificial grouping in the Cymric tribal system is due to the iron hand of the Roman tax-gatherer. If this is so, it is not an essential part of the ancient tribal system, but a form into which the tribal system would become moulded under similar circumstances, wherever it might meet with them.

I have thought it right to emphasise these points in taking stock of Mr. Seeböhm's contribution to the early history of the tribe, because they are all essential to those who may be taking up the subject from where Mr. Seeböhm leaves off and going back farther into the past. Mr. Seeböhm himself seems to think that students of his book will take up the subject from the economic point of view only, and will be chiefly interested in the modern economic evolution of society in Wales, which must start from the Celtic tribal system (p. 148). I am assuredly doing him only justice when I state that such a view will be used far and wide by all who wish to deal adequately with the early history of man in Western Europe, and I must add that I have ventured to disagree with him only in the spirit which

George G. STEELE.

EGYPTIAN TALES TRANSLATED FROM THE PAPYRI. Second Series, XVIIIth to XIXth Dynasty. Edited by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Hon. D.C.L., LL.D. London: Methuen & Co., 1895.

THIS second series of the translation of Egyptian tales, of which we reviewed the first series in June last, contains, like its predecessor, four tales, accompanied by the Editor's comments. The four stories are The Taking of Joppa, The Doomed Prince, Anpu and Bata (hitherto known as The Two Brothers), and Setna and the Magic Book: all of them stories of much intrinsic interest. It is greatly to be regretted that three out of the four are only known from imperfect papyri. The openings of the first and last are wanting. The second breaks off at the most interesting part, and has besides a whole paragraph obviously misplaced. We may add to Dr. Petrie's conjectures, as to the probable close of this tale, that perhaps the Doomed Prince was put to death after all by the dog, and restored to life by his faithful wife. This would fulfil the prediction of the Hathors, without violating poetical justice or the Egyptian notion of probability.

The tales present a variety of points highly interesting to the student of folklore, and the Editor's notes are most useful in elucidating many obscurities. The translations of three out of the four may be profitably compared with those of M. Maspero. It is perhaps to be regretted that Dr. Petrie has felt it needful to soften some of the expressions, and in the case of one of the tales in this and the previous volume to give a mere abstract of an important episode. But as a whole the volume, like its predecessor, will not fail to be highly appreciated by students alike of literature and folklore.

We have noted a few printer's errors, chiefly concerned with the concord of nominative and verb; and our glass has not been strong enough to discover the star referred to on page 7.



KILNS, MILLS, MILLERS, MEAL, AND BREAD. By the Rev.
WALTER GREGOR, M.A., LL.D. London: David Nutt,
1894.

WHEN we see Dr. Gregor's name attached to any work, we know what to expect, namely, original collections from the mouth of the folk, set down in business-like catalogues, with unrivalled precision of detail as to localities and variants, and withal not a word from the writer himself, nothing to show what is the special purpose or the outcome of the collection. The present pamphlet takes a somewhat original line. It is an exhaustive collection of the folklore pertaining to that universal human necessity, *Bread*, in the writer's special district, North-east Scotland. Drying, grinding, baking, every stage in the process, has its own lore. Fairies and kelpies stop the mill, borrow the meal, or spoil the baking; luck-rules must be observed for fear of dearth; divinations and omens are drawn from cakes and loaves; cakes must be provided for all family events and yearly festivals; games, riddles, and proverbs turn on grinding and baking. Bread and cheese were carried in the wedding procession to treat the first person met; the bride on arriving at her new home must plunge her hand into the meal-chest. Bread and cheese were in like manner carried with a new-born babe, and meal or bread put into its hand in the first house it visited. Iron must be put into the meal in a house where a dead body is lying, and no baking done in the house lest the meal or bread turn mouldy. Bread and water were placed in the death chamber the night after the funeral for the use of the spirit of the dead expected to return that night. The principal ceremonial, eating of bread and cheese or bread and butter, was at the *first ploughing* of the year, when sometimes the plough-horses, and generally the birds, shared the feast. The Yule Bread, at Christmas, was chiefly remarkable for the care with which it was baked. It was generally done during the night, and a supply sufficient to last throughout the festival must be ready before daybreak. The cakes of bread must not be counted. A bannock was named for each of the family, and if it broke in the baking the one who owned it would die before next Christmas. The other days for which special cakes were baked were *Eastern's Even* (Shrove Tuesday), when they were used for divination, and May Day, when they were also so used, but in a peculiar way, by rolling them downhill to see if they would break. They were afterwards eaten

out of doors. (Easter eggs are thus treated in Furness, Lancashire.) In one place it was held necessary to knead a May Day bannock entirely in the hand, never to set it down except for baking, and to lift it from the fire into the hand of the recipient, otherwise it had no more virtue than ordinary bread. May Day, it should be said, was the occasion of first driving out the cattle to pasture after the winter. It is difficult for a southerner to realise that none of these varieties of "bread," "cakes," and "bannocks," are baked in an oven, but that they are all varieties of what we should call "oatcake," and are baked either on a "girdle" or on the hearth.

One very marked case of "survival" is noted by Dr. Gregor. On two hills in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire, travellers had to propitiate "the Banshee" by placing a barley meal cake, marked on one side by a round O, beside a well at the top of each hill. If this was not done, death or some great misfortune would be the consequence. Instances of such results are related. We wish that Dr. Gregor had been able to inform us how lately this custom was in use.

LEGENDS OF FLORENCE COLLECTED FROM THE PEOPLE, AND
RETOLED BY C. G. LELAND. First Series. D. Nutt, 1895.

THE greater number of the pieces in this book are local legends ; they grew up as attempts to explain something odd in the name of a street, or some queer statute, or some part of a coat of arms. We have a tale to show how the Via delle Serve Smarrite got its name (p. 41) ; the Enchanted Cow of the Via Vacchereccia (109) ; the Bronze Boar of the Old Market (47) ; the pills of the Medicane escutcheon (6), and armorial bearings of other families, gentle and simple (83, &c.). The bridges of Florence have their ghosts. Many of these stories are old friends in a new dress, or contain elements which the student of folklore will recognise at once. The legend of the Via della Mosca, for instance (p. 188), has a good girl, and a wicked girl with a witch-mother ; the witch enchanting a comb of thorns, so that whoever was combed with it turns into a fly. The fly in this case sings of its own transformation. We are reminded of the wicked old woman who sticks a pin into the bride's head, and turns her into a bird ; and it is a

common feature in tales that an ill-treated innocent, transformed or in the form of dead bones, sings its fate to those dear to it (e.g., Grimm, No. 47). In the legend of the Via del Fico, a fig-tree grows from a dog's bones (205); in it was the luck of the master of the ground, and ill luck came to him who plucked its fruit or did it damage. Then there is Beauty and the Beast (47), with silence taboo, and the boar-man who doffs his hide and becomes human.

The sacrifice of life at founding of a bridge seems to be referred to in the legend of the Ponte alla Carraia, which is haunted by the ghost of a goat, that when seen sinks into the ground at a certain spot (77). The "secret chamber" incident is varied on page 114. And there are many others scattered through the book.

Not the least interesting are such legends as recall those of classical times. We have Echo, the voice of spirits of the dead (78); Orpheus and Eurydice (227); and Intialo, whom the author identifies with an Etruscan word Hinthal, written on tombstones after the name of the dead man. Orpheus is invoked by those who wish for skill to play upon the shepherd's pipe; he is asked for "the skill he won from hell"; a difference from the classical variant, when he uses his skill to charm the lords of Hades. Part of the ritual consists of *burying the pipe* three days in the earth, as Orpheus himself went down into the earth to Hades.

There are a number of extraordinary incantations and accounts of witches and witch-ritual. Besides that of Orpheus already mentioned, there is a love-charm done by aid of the *mirror* (254) and a *glass* negative of the lover's photograph, with bits of his hair. Cain is invoked in this charm; and it appears that he lives in the moon, with a bundle of thorns on his back. But the most striking, and to my mind a really fine poem, is the invocation to Intialo (238); where a demon threatens a man that he will haunt him, and the man replies in a splendid piece of malignant scorn, that he is a greater wizard than the demon, by virtue of a "lovely witch" who protects him.

Of other odd pieces of lore, I may mention that it is explained why a horseshoe brings good luck (123); the *earth of your footprint* is weighed to try your guilt (118); and *stolen oil* is used for love charms (269). The author avers that there are churches

about Rome where the oil is purposely left to be stolen or taken, though the thief is supposed to leave a copper to pay for it (*ibid.*). The special efficacy of things stolen has already been discussed in this journal. In the Shoemaker and St. John (125), a man treats the saint like a fetish.

Of more modern elements, besides the cross (which is constantly occurring), we have Dante and Michael Angelo as spirits (69, 52).

As regards the authenticity of the matter a word may be said. Mr. Leland has often been found fault with for "cooking" what he learns, and there is good reason for the censure. He distinctly states (pref. p. xi.) that he has in many cases worked up the stories from "a very slight foundation of tradition—often a mere hint" (see also p. 204). But we ought to be told exactly where this is done, and we ask for the "slight foundation" or the "mere hint" *verbatim*. Where he says that his familiar witch, Maddalena, has given him the document in writing, we can be satisfied; and this is often said. But we would beg Mr. Leland in his next book, which he promises soon, to tell us exactly how much is tradition and how much Leland, even if it be in a note. We shall enjoy the book none the less, and we shall know where we are. Enjoyable the book is, and rarely; read, for instance, the capital tales of the Egg-woman (11), St. Peter and the Smith (124), or Cheating the Devil (91). Every page is full of racy phrases and quaint proverbs. The verse translations, though sometimes free (p. 3), are pretty and idiomatic. But we protest against anything careless or slipshod. There is no call for Mr. Leland's unworthy sneer at what he calls the "second-rate folklorist" (p. xi). If any one deserves this title, it is he who designedly alters his material. We could also do without Flaxius. Flaxius always has something to say about the stories, and he is a dreary bore. Let Mr. Leland give us his other book soon, but with notes, and no Flaxius.

W. H. D. R.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME SCOTTISH FOLKLORE OF THE CHILD AND THE HUMAN BODY.

The following notes were recently collected in the localities indicated below :—

Children.

"A Monday's bairn is fair o' face;
A Teyday's bairn is fou o' grace;
A Wednesday bairn's a bairn o' woe;
A Thursday bairn hiz far to go;
A Friday's bairn should be lovin' an' givin';
A Saiterday's bairn works hard for his livin';
The bairn that's born on Sabbath day
Should be fair an' wise an' happy an' gay."¹ —*Turriff.*

It was observed how infants held their hands for some time after birth. If they kept them closed it was a sure sign they would hold fast the money that came in their way, and the remark about such a child would have been heard: "He (she) 'll be a grannie, that ane," or "he'll be a gey grannie lad." If, on the contrary, the hands were kept open, the money would go as fast as it came.

It was a common custom to make a present of a coin to an infant the first time a friend went to see the mother, and to put it into the infant's hand. If the child closed the hand over the coin, then the money gained during life would be well looked after, but if the coin was allowed to drop from the hand, then the earnings would go as fast as they came. —*Turriff.*

If a child cut its teeth at an early date it was believed it would be short-lived (*Pitsligo, Keith, &c.*). One informant told me that she cut her teeth at an early period, and that an old woman

¹ A variant at p. 25 *Notes on the Folklore of North-East of Scotland.*

¹ See *Notes on the Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 48.

said to her mother that her child would not be long-lived, and added, "Ye winna mack a ream (cream) cake till (to) her."

If a child's first tooth comes in the upper jaw an early death follows. The saw is—

" If ye cut yir first teeth abeen,
Ye winna dance i' yir mairraige sheen." —*Tyrie.*

A large forehead in a child betokens an early death. I lately heard this belief expressed by a woman in Pitsligo.

The Hair.

A man with "red hair" is believed to be unfaithful as a husband. —*Dumbartonshire.*

The Eyebrows.

A man whose eyebrows met—"a close-broot man"—was called by some old people a "mare." (—*Tyrie.*) Such a feature is looked upon as an indication of an immoral nature. One informant told me that when a young woman she was warned to be on her guard against such men. She knew men having this peculiar feature who bore an evil name. —*Turriff.*

Some hold this peculiarity as a foretoken that the possessor will be hanged. —*Renton, Dumbartonshire.*

One with "close broos" was unlucky to meet as "first fit." —*Corgarff.*

The Eyes.

"Grey eyes," or as they are called sometimes "cat-eyes," are regarded as indicating a deceitful disposition. —*Aberdour.*

"Grey eyes" greedy,
"Blue eyes" needy. —*Turriff.*

"Black eyes" indicate deceit. —*Auchterless.*

The Lips.

White lips are regarded as a mark of an immoral nature and a treacherous disposition.

Thick lips are looked upon as indicative of a lustful nature. —*Various.*



The Teeth.

If the two front teeth are apart it shows that there is a fondness for the opposite sex (*various*), or, as an old woman expressed it, indicates "a lichtsome character." —*Aberdour.*

If the teeth are apart from each other the person will be short-lived. —*Pitsligo.*

The Arms.

Short arms indicate short life, and long arms long life (*various*), as well as strength. —*Tyrie.*

The Fingers.

If the forefinger is equal in length to the second finger, or longer than it, the person will not hesitate to steal (*various*). One of my informants knew a man who had this peculiarity in the fingers. When a child was born in the district the women present at the birth examined the new-born's fingers, and if there was no such malformation the remark was made that the fingers were not like So-and-So's. —*Aberdour.*

Long fingers are indicative of one given to thieving.

—*Dumbarton.*

Crooked fingers indicate a crabbed disposition.

—*Auchterless.*

One with crooked little fingers will be rich before death.

—*Tyrie.*

The Nails.

If the white part of the nails on leaving the flesh are long, it indicates long life; according to others, prosperity; if short, short life. —*Pitsligo.*

White spots on the nails are interpreted in different ways—as presents in general (*various places*), as marriage presents, as money (*Pitsligo*), and as the arrival of strangers. The nearer the spots are to the tips of the nails, the nearer is the arrival of the strangers. —*Garmouth.*

white spot on the thumb means a friend,
on the forefinger, a foe,
on the second finger, a present,
on the third finger, a joe [lover],
on the little finger, a journey. —*Pitsligo.*
On the thumb, a friend,
on the forefinger, a foe,
on the second finger, a gift,
on the third finger, a beau,
on the little finger, a journey to go. —*Turriff.*

A white spot on the thumb signifies a new friend. —*Pitsligo.*

The Toes.

If the second toe is longer than the first—"the muckle tae"—in a man he is unkind to his wife. My informant told me she knew two men who had this peculiarity in the structure of the toes, and they were harsh to their wives. —*Turriff.*

WALTER GREGOR.

LESBIAN SUPERSTITION ABOUT CHICKENS.

A hen must be put to sit on eggs in the latter part of the month, so that the chickens may not be hatched in the same month in which she was set. Chickens hatched under these funest circumstances must be passed through an iron ring, otherwise they will not live. This treatment was this morning applied to our most recent brood, and the result is, hitherto, favourable; but I cannot speak for the future.

Mytilene.

W. R. PATON.

AN OLD-PERSIAN SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOM.

The following instance of a primitive religious ceremony observed at the moment of death among the ancient Parsees or Zoroastrians may deserve to be recorded among the notes of *F. L.*

"Lorsqu'un Guèbre (le plus ancien peuple de Perse) est à l'agonie, on prend un chien dont on applique la gueule sur la

bouche du mourant, afin qu'il reçoive son âme avec son dernier soupir." This passage is quoted from *Le Chien primitif*, par M . . . (8^e Nantes, 1846), page 4, where the author refers to Tavernier's *Voyages en Perse* as his source, and furnishes a well-engraved illustration from the great folio work (published in eleven vols. at Amsterdam 1723-43) : "Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde représentées par des figures dessinées par B. Picart." (Tome ii, 1^e partie, p. 34.)

H. KREBS.

Oxford.

A KATTAK DANCE.

On Lord Roberts's vacating the post of commander-in-chief in India, an entertainment was given in his honour at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab province, in which he had passed the most part—if not all—his military career. In the forenoon of the appointed day there was a great *durbar*, or reception, attended chiefly by native chiefs and gentlemen, and at the Montgomery Hall in the evening Lord Roberts received a great number of officers belonging to different native regiments, the Asiatics all tendering their swords to him, as a sign of fealty to the British Crown.

When this ceremony was over, an adjournment was made to the public gardens. A singular dance was then executed by about 100 soldiers of a Punjab regiment in their native costume, who had been brought thither for that purpose. They belonged to Kattak, a place in the Kohat district. Their dress consisted of a voluminous white turban encircling in its folds a high peaked woollen cap. A loose dress of white calico reaching below the knees was confined at the waist by a broad sash of the same material, of which the very wide trousers were also made. The dancers commenced by forming a large circle around a huge bonfire. Within this circle the musicians stationed themselves. These consisted of four drummers (players on large tom-toms) and several performers on a kind of reed pipe. The movements of the dancers were slow at first; they danced in couples, each pair advancing and retreating several steps, and setting to each other as in our quadrille; or occasionally the men would turn round

then suddenly stooping down, cause their tunic and form a sort of double cheese upon the ground. The pace gradually much accelerated, the dancers gave vent to shouts, and presently each man seized a sword and brandished it about in a way which seemed hazardous both for himself and his neighbours, madly careering round and round. At length a few men left the large circle, and together with the musicians in their midst formed a smaller one apart from the main assembly, within which they executed a kind of sword dance upon their knees. By this time the musicians had worked themselves up to a great pitch of excitement; they seemed quite unable to stop playing. One of the drummers began to execute all sorts of antics, seating himself upon his drum and rolling over and about without intermitting his playing. He also slung his drum over his thigh, and hopped about upon the other leg, beating time to the music the whole time.

HARRIET G. M. MURRAY-AVNSLEY.

INDIAN FOLKTALES.

The following tales were told to Miss Susette M. Taylor by her nurse, a Hindu woman named Ganga, over seventy years of age, at present living in a small town in the native state of Bhopal, Central India. Miss Taylor said: "The ayah told me she was from Calcutta originally, but in her early girlhood she had inhabited Central India; and here her children and grandchildren live. She also told me she learnt many of these tales from her grandmother. But several tales (those of Nerbudda and of Servan) refer to Central India; and in telling me these tales she would one moment use the word *rajab* (Hindu term) and the next *pacha* (Mohammedan) for the same person."

The Two Friends.

There were once a rajah's son and a carpenter's son who were such great friends that all observed their friendship. So much did they love one another that if one were ill and could not eat the other would not eat either. But the rajah was displeased at the friendship of his heir with a poor man's son, and as the prince

refused to give up his friend he was forbidden the palace. So the two youths set out and lived together in the jungle, hunting every day for their food. One day the carpenter's son left his friend for a short time in search of water. He at last found a well and was about to fill his vessel when suddenly a great demon rose from its depths, sat on the ground, and then drew from his ear (the hollow of which was as large as a cave) a box, out of which he lifted a beautiful maiden. Telling her he wished to sleep he stretched himself at full length, and the girl began stroking his knees in order to soothe his slumbers. The carpenter's son was at first so wonderstruck by the apparition of the demon and by the beauty of the maiden that he was glued to the ground, but he at last crept noiselessly away and told his friend what he had seen. The prince at once longed to possess the beautiful maiden and bade his friend procure him speech with her. They therefore agreed to go to the well at the same hour on the morrow. The same thing again happened, and this time the carpenter's son crept close to the sleeping demon in order to address the maiden. "What are you doing here?" cried the girl. "If my father awakes he will eat you." "I only want to beg you to go and speak to my friend," replied the youth; "see, there he is." "That I would willingly do, but if I leave off stroking my father's knees he will wake up and eat you."

"I will stroke your father's knees while you are away," was the youth's reply. So the maiden raised her right hand and the youth put his in its place, and the same with the left hand, and the maiden noiselessly glided away to see the prince. He forthwith lifted her on to his horse and galloped away, never to return.

Now the poor youth left behind stroking the giant's legs durst not stop to go after his faithless friend for fear the giant should wake and eat him. But at last the monster had slept enough, and after he had stretched himself and yawned prodigiously he opened his eyes and was much surprised to see the carpenter's son in his daughter's place. The youth upon the giant's inquiries as to who he was and whither his daughter had gone related what had happened. Much tickled at the story the demon was pleased to be good-natured and laugh heartily. "That was a very poor friend of yours," he cried; "I'll tell you a story of a real friend."

"There were once a rajah's son and a Banjara's son whose friendship was so great they lived one for the other. One day

when out on the chase the Banjara,¹ whose beat separated him a little from his companion, while fording a river, perceived a large stone on which was painted the portrait of such a beautiful woman that he was overcome by his feelings and almost fainted. When he came to himself, lest his friend might see the picture to his harm also, he carefully plastered it over with mud and then went on his way. But one morning the prince coming to bathe happened to choose a spot near the portrait. As he cleansed his mouth the water he spat out struck against the stone and discovered a hand holding a lemon. He spat another mouthful of water over the stone again, and this time he saw the entire likeness of a most beautiful woman. He only looked at her once and then went mad for love. Great was the grief of the Banjara when he found out what had happened. He racked his brains for a remedy till he came to the conclusion the only thing to do was to find the original of the portrait and make her his friend's bride. So he began to make inquiries as to the beautiful woman in the neighbouring countries, till he at last heard of a lovely princess in a distant kingdom. He repaired to her country, and received many accounts of this peerless maiden. Her beauty was so great she had many suitors, but she refused them all and would not look at the face of a man. Nothing daunted, the youth haunted the palace till he had made friends with an old woman who looked after the princess's garden, and daily made the wreaths and garlands which she wore. One morning he begged the old woman to let him take charge of the garden for one day only. She replied, 'How can this be? No man is allowed within these precincts, and if found out it will cost your life and mine.' 'But I shall put on woman's clothes,' pleaded the youth. And he gave her two gold mohurs. Then the bel-dame agreed. The Banjara put on woman's clothes, tended the princess's garden, and made such beautiful wreaths and garlands that the princess was delighted. The next morning she asked the old woman who had made such lovely wreaths, and the old dame, much alarmed, replied it was her daughter-in-law. The

¹ Captain Forsyth, in *The Highlands of Central India* (p. 107), states: "Banjaras are a curious race of nomads who are found everywhere in Central India, acting as carriers with herds of pack bullocks. Their name means 'Forest wanderer,' and they appear to be perfectly distinct both from Hindus and from the known aboriginal tribes."

princess asked to see her, and the old woman in fear and trembling brought the youth still in woman's dress. They conversed together, and so charmed was the princess with the stranger that she insisted the night should be spent in her apartments. The youth seized this opportunity to ask her why she would not marry but refused even to look at the face of a man. The maiden sighed, and said, 'Alas, this is the reason. In a former life I was a goose, and had a husband and two young ones. One day there broke out a great fire in the jungle, driving all living creatures before it. My husband flew away, leaving me and my little ones to burn. Since then I never wish to marry nor see the face of man.' The next morning the youth, whose disguise had not been discovered, took his leave from the princess and left the palace. He changed his dress, and this time disguised himself as a faqir. Besmeared with dust and ashes he sat himself near a well, and whenever a woman came to draw water he turned his head away so as not to see her face. This the women soon noticed and discussed, and it gradually came to the princess's ears.

"Curious to observe this man who would not look at a woman's face, and to try him, the princess one day arrayed herself in her finest clothes and jewels and went to the well. As soon as the faqir saw her coming he turned his head away. She went up and asked him why he did this. 'Alas,' he replied, 'in a former life I was a gander, and had a wife and two children. One day a great fire swept over the jungle, driving all living things before it. My wife, instead of flying away with me, preferred to stay behind, and let me go alone. Since then I never wish to see a woman's face again.' 'Why, you must be my husband,' cried the princess. Then she at once went to the rajah, her father, and told him she must marry the faqir, for he had been her husband in a former state. The rajah consented, and all arrangements were set about for the wedding. This took place, but at the ceremony the Banjara insisted upon the bond being made between the princess and the owner of a knife and handkerchief which he produced (they belonged to his friend, the mad prince), giving out this was a custom of his people.

"After the wedding he took the princess to his own country, and when they reached the river where his friend went mad he made the maiden sit on the stone of the portrait and gave her a lemon to hold in her hand. Then hurrying off in search of the love-

crazed prince he brought him to the spot, crying, ‘Look, there is your bride.’ The prince immediately returned to his senses and rejoiced greatly.

“That was a true friend,” said the demon, “not like yours, who left you in danger of being eaten by me. But I pardon you for your misfortune in having such a friend.” And the monster vanished down the well, while the carpenter’s son went home never again to see his friend.

Story of the River Nerbudda.

A certain pious maiden, by name Nerbudda, daughter of a Jemadar,¹ daily led her father’s cows to pasture. One day she met a poor old faqir who putting his hands palm to palm in gesture of supplication cried, “Daughter, my mouth is dried up and parched. Get me a little water for God’s sake.” “Where can I find some?” asked she. Then he told her to gently move a certain stone on the side of a hill close by and water would trickle out. Anxious to relieve the holy man’s thirst, for she saw he was exhausted and feeble, she ran to the spot directed and pulled away the stone; but, alas! the water burst out in a great flood and formed a river in which the poor girl was drowned. And in memory of her piety and sad fate the river was called Nerbudda.

Four Simpleton Stories.

I.

A youth, by name Sekchilli, was one day carrying on his head a jar of ghee (clarified butter) to the bazaar. As he went along he reckoned the owner would give him two pice for the carriage. “With this,” he thought, “I shall buy a hen. She will lay eggs, and I shall get chickens. These I shall sell and buy a goat. With the goat’s milk I shall soon make enough money to buy a cow. With her I shall make more money and get an elephant, and I shall be rich enough to marry. I shall have children, and these will play around me and say, ‘Give me two pice, father.’ But I shall say, ‘I haven’t any pice, go away, go away,’ and the youth shook his head so angrily the jar fell to the ground

¹ Probably “Zemindar” (landowner) is meant.

and all the ghee was spilt. His employer, who was walking behind, angrily asked the lad for the price of the ghee, and as Sekchilli had no money he was dragged to the bazaar and given into custody. But the judge's heart was moved by the youth's plea that he was much more to be pitied than the owner of the ghee, as he had lost his whole fortune by one disaster; and he was set free.

2.

A half-witted youth, by name Sekchilli, when one day drawing water with a neighbour, hit his friend for fun such a blow that he killed him. When he went home and told his mother, she was much afraid for her son's sake; so she ran quickly and carried the corpse into her hut to bury it later on, and killing a goat threw it down the well. When the dead man was missed it was remembered he was last seen in company with Sekchilli, and as a body was to be seen at the bottom of the well they surmised the half-witted lad had knocked his neighbour down; so Sekchilli was sent down the well to bring the body up. "Is it he?" cried the villagers to the lad below. "Yes, here are his two ears," replied the boy, striking the goat's long ears. "And I can feel his breasts," he cried, touching the horns; "and this is his long hair," and he pulled the tail.

But when the body was pulled up they saw it was a goat, and all decided Sekchilli had not killed the lost man.

3.

Another day Sekchilli came to his mother and said, "What must one do to get a red mouth like those people that chew pān (the betel leaf)?" The mother replied in jest, "Go to the bazaar and rub your mouth against that of the first chewer of pān you meet." And Sekchilli went and did as his mother told him. The pān-chewer very angrily cried, "What do you mean by insulting me like this?" and went straightway to the thanadar (police) and related Sekchilli's misdeed. As Sekchilli went on his way he saw a little child crying. The child's mother, who was close by, called out to Sekchilli, "Cut off that little boy's ear," intending to frighten the child into being good by demanding this of a stranger. But Sekchilli went up and really cut the child's ear off. The mother, furious, hied her at once to the thanadar to give information of the foul injury done to her child. Sekchilli went on till he came to a wooden hut in which lived an old woman. He told her his

story, upon which she said, "You had better make a fire as they do at Läken. So Sekchilli struck a match and set the hut on fire, and the old woman was burnt to death. He had after this three policemen on his track, and was soon found and brought before the magistrate. When accused of his three misdeeds he exclaimed that it was his mother who had told him if he wanted his mouth red to rub it against the red mouth of a pān-chewer. It was the child's mother who herself cried out to him to cut off her little boy's ear. And the old woman had bidden him make a fire as they do at Läken. He had but done all he had been told to do.

4. *The Four Sekchillis.*

There were once four fools, friends to one another, and the name of each was Sekchilli. They determined to go out into the world, enter service, and gain their own living. They set out and on their way they came to a field full of white flowers which they took for a great river. So they stripped, piled their clothes on their heads, and waded through the flowers. Upon reaching the other side they counted themselves to see if all had arrived safely, but as each forgot to include himself they could only count three, and making sure one of their number was drowned in the supposed river they raised a great lamentation, howling and weeping.¹ A nawab riding across the maidan (plain) came up and asked them what all this wailing was about. They told him how they started four in number but were now only three. The nawab, to convince them they were four, slashed one with his whip, saying, "You're 'one,'" another crying, "You're 'two,'" the third, "You're 'three,'" and the last, "You're 'four.'" So pleased were the fools to find they were all safe that they immediately offered to enter the nawab's service for nothing. The nawab, very pleased to get four servants so cheaply, took them home with him. Upon arrival he said to one Sekchilli, "Take this bullock cart, go into the jungle, and bring back wood." To another he said, "You must herd these goats. Take them to pasture and choose a nice cool spot." The third was ordered to carry a large jar of ghee to the bazaar for sale. To the fourth the nawab gave a fan, saying, "My old mother is ill. Take this fan and keep the flies from worrying her." Number one Sekchilli

¹ Compare *Le Voyage des Jaguens à Paris*, Sébillot, *Contes Pop. de la Haute Bretagne*, vol. i., page 242 (Story No. 37). E.S.H.

walked along by the wagon and was satisfied as long as its wheels creaked in the usual fashion. Then the creaking stopped for some reason or other, and Sekchilli thought the cart had died, and he made a fire and cremated it. Number two Sekchilli drove his flock safely along till he reached a well down which he dropped all the goats as a nice cool place. The third Sekchilli walked quietly to market till, as the sun rose higher in the sky, he grew very warm and took the jar off his head. The ghee had melted with the heat, and the fool looking at it saw his face reflected as in a mirror. "A thief, a thief," he shouted, and with his stick he struck at his own reflection, dashing the jar to pieces and spilling all the ghee. Number four Sekchilli grew tired of fanning his master's mother, and thinking to get rid of all the flies at once he smeared the old lady's face with treacle, and when it had attracted a swarm of flies he dealt great blows with a club at them, smashed in the old woman's face and killed her. In the evening, when all the servants had collected together, the master asked the first Sekchilli how much wood he had brought home. He replied none, the cart died and he had cremated it. The second Sekchilli, when asked about his goats, said they were in a nice cool well. He was bidden at once to go and haul them up and dry them. The beasts were straight-way got out, but to dry them Sekchilli tethered them fast and made a great fire round them and burned them all up. The ghee-wallah told how he found he was carrying a thief on his head, and in beating him had broken the jar and spilt all the ghee. When finally the nawab found his old mother dead he was very angry, and told the four Sekchillis they must bury her at once. So they put her on a bier, but carried her so heedlessly, the corpse, unknown to its bearers, fell on to the road. When the fools reached the cemetery and found their burden gone, they without any ado seized an old woman walking along near and forcibly buried her. The nawab, who had come on behind and found his mother's corpse on the road, upon hearing what had been done, had the grave reopened, but the poor old woman was already dead. And the four Sekchillis were then summarily dismissed, with blows and harsh words, to seek fortune elsewhere.

(*To be continued.*)

NORTH INDIAN NOTES AND QUERIES, VOL. IV.

Popular Religion.

256. At certain rites, *deer horns* used to be blown. Horns of sheep and goats hung on trees to promote fertility. [In Lesbos, heads or skulls of rams or oxen are hung on trees "to avert the Evil Eye."—W. H. D. R.]

257. A saint, finding a dead lad, puts his soul into him : the lad arises and lives.

258. Sacrilege to *kill a cat* according to the Shashtras.

288. *Bengal Charm against Cholera*.—In front of the village were two bamboos, on one of them an earthen pot and a placard on the other. The pot had had certain sweetmeats over which spells had been spoken ; as the birds eat the food, they carry off the cholera. The placard is headed "Dismissal order of Solomon the Prophet," and is a most amusing hocus-pocus, naming all sorts of deities and demons, and adjuring them in legal language, with threats, to go away.

289. *N.-W. Provinces*.—Worship of Lotus. Only white dress allowed.

292. Lightning is the breath of the king of the snakes. [In the Jātaka, a "snake-breath disease" is mentioned. See Index to vol. ii. of the translation.]

293. The conch shells blown in Hindu temples are the bones of a certain demon, hence scare demons away. Other uses of conchs.

295. Hindus believe that one who dies of snake-bite is next born a snake. To free such an one from his snake-body, an *image of a snake* must be made of silver, gold, wood, or clay ; worshiped ; a Brahmin fed (of course) ; and a certain charm recited.

336. Legend of the Pole Star.

339. A stupid tale ; the editor says "an Eastern version of *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 80, *Of the cunning of the Devil and the judgements of God*."

340. *Bombay*.—Village godlings. They dwell in stone pillars which stand generally under a banyan tree.

341. *Symbolical Human Sacrifice*.—Cocoa-nuts or pumpkins substituted for human beings.

344. *Saharanpur*.—Rural Festivals. Sacred days. Tree worshipped with rice-water and *red lead*. Swinging in merry-go-rounds (women). [The Greeks had a swinging-festival for women,

the *alúpa*.] On one day, every woman paints an earthen vessel, and makes a figure of a woman on the wall of the house, which she worships.

- 345. Disease cured by bathing in a certain tank.
- 346. Sacred fish at Benares (long note).
- 348. Worship of *Cuckoo*.
- 350. Etiquette among gods and demons.

Anthropology.

260. Why the Kayasts of Behar are clerks.—A man was offered one boon by a goddess. He wanted wealth, his barren wife wanted children, his blind mother wanted sight. A Kayasth suggested he should ask "That his mother might see her grandson eating out of a golden cup." The goddess was angry at having to grant three boons in one; but she did so, cursing the Kayasts at the same time, that they must earn their livelihood by quill-driving.

263. Rules of salutation.

266. *Tree Marriage*.—N. India. Before the man rubs red lead on the parting of the bride's hair (the binding part of the ceremony) she has to rub red lead on a branch of the *sal* tree put under the marriage shed, thus symbolising her previous marriage to it. [For tree marriage, see Index to Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*.]

267. *Silsa*.—Inheritance. Daughters do not inherit. Only agnates inherit, or widows of sonless agnates.—Marriage. A woman enters her husband's clan. A man must not marry an agnate.

297. Witchcraft case in court. A child died; four women were suspected of having bewitched it. They were taken to the grave; the body was dug up, and laid on the lap of each in turn, while the people cried, "Give life, give life!"

299. Girl married to a brass image of Krishna (legend).

301. Mohammedan Prostitutes: they live in communities, all their goods in common, and the males live on the earnings. Gaps filled by adoption.

302. *Saharanpur*.—In the rains a mock marriage is made between two girls, who go through the ceremony, and walk round a tree by a tank.

303. *Karnal*.—Periodical redistribution of holdings.

304. Deities of Wrestlers and their rites.—Women not allowed to see, for fear of the Evil Eye.

305. *Dehra Dun*.—Marriage. Earnest-money paid to bride's father.

Folk-Tales.

269. A variant of 234, but inferior.

270. "An imperfect version of 'Princess Aubergine,' *Wide-awake Stories*, 79."

306. How the Hare outwitted the Lion [a story not unlike those of Brer Rabbit: parallels quoted].

309-10. Comical nonsense tales. Ed. compares *Wideawake Stories*, p. 223.

311. A man lost his nose. The others made fun of him. "Ah," quoth he, "when I had a nose in front of my eyes, I could never see the Lord Almighty. Now I see him daily." So everybody else cut his nose off too, and none were left to mock him.

314. Variant of Bluebeard, with a difference. Hero's tasks. [A muddled tale.]

315. How the Babbler Bird saved the Elephant.

317. A man learns the speech of beasts. His wife hears him laugh at the talk of two ants; he tells her his power of understanding beasts, and at once dies.

352. How a lad learned to be a sorcerer; and by the help of the sorcerer's daughter, escaped his master's attacks, repeatedly changing his shape to avoid him.

353. A king had seven sons; each shot an arrow, and was to marry where it fell. Six arrows fell in the realms of six kings, and the six lads therefore wedded princesses; but one fell in the jungle, in a tree, near which an old woman lived. So the seventh married the old dame's she-monkey. The dame gave a grand wedding feast, with dishes of gold and silver. At night the monkey put off its skin and became a lovely girl. The prince's sisters-in-law saw it, and told the prince to burn her skin. His bride said No; if he did, he would lose her; but told him how to get her back. So burn it he did, and she disappeared. According to instructions, he sought an old faqir, who slept and waked six months on end, and waited upon him. In requital, the faqir told him that after six months birds would come to bathe in the tank, and among them would be the monkey-princess. He would transform the prince into a parrot. When the birds go down to bathe, "pick up their clothes (!) in your beak, and bring them to

me ; but don't look back." The prince did so, but looked back; and was turned into dust. The faqir found the ashes, made them into a figure, and breathed life into them. After another six months he went as before, and this time did not look back, but brought the clothing to the faqir. The fairies surrounded the cell and asked for the thief; promising whatever he asked in return for their clothes. He asked for the monkey-princess. The faqir told him to pick the oldest; he did so; it was she. She gave him a flute, saying, "When you play on it, I shall come." He took it home, and used often to play on it. Once he left it about; his sisters-in-law played. Up came the fairies, and this time carried off the flute. The prince came to the faqir again, and told him. This time the prince went with the monkey-princess as her drummer-boy, before Indra. The fairies pleased Indra with their dancing, so that he promised whatever the monkey-princess asked. She gave her right to the prince, who asked for her. [The shooting of arrows for brides occurs in *Georgian Folktales*, p. 15 ; and I have seen it in a modern Greek fairy tale, published locally as a pamphlet.¹ Cf. No. 359. The "clothes" were doubtless their bird skins. Cf. *Swan-maidens*. No. 354 is a variant of this.]

358. Hero's Tasks. To catch a tailless jackal. Tiger's milk. How he outwitted his faithless wife and her paramour, the Raja.

359, like 353. Arrows. This time the bride is a 'fairy,' who has a monkey-skin for her plaything. The rest is a shorter version of the former tale.

Mixed.

273. *Kamaun*.—Drought, murrain, barrenness of land, and the like averted by sacrifice of *bull buffaloes* (described).

274. To discover theft.—Boiled rice, weighed against a silver coin with name of the Emp. Shah Alum on it, is given to suspected persons. In the mouth of the thief it turns to flour, and chokes him.

275. Counting backwards as a charm against scorpion bites.

278. Boys fear to wake their comrades from sleep, lest the soul should be apart from the body and fail to return in time.

280. Charm : and blowing over ashes.

¹ The incident is not uncommon in tales from Mediterranean lands. It is prominent in *Prince Ahmed and the Fairy* in the *Arabian Nights*. A good example is also *La Ranocchiella*, a Tuscan *märchen* in *Archivio*, vol. i., page 42. E.S.H.

281. Offerings made to a monolith column.
283. If a husband eat the leavings of his wife, he becomes subservient to her. So when a man comes for his bride, the bride's relations make him eat betel in which is a nut already chewed by the bride. (Hindus.)
285. *Saharanpur Wizards*.—They charm out your liver by looking at you. If a man gives them fire while cooking, they have power over the food. (*Sympathetic Magic*.)
318. A jungle boy in Bengal; his habits. Cannot speak, but utters queer cries and sounds.
319. Mango crop begins to ripen on the day of the mock marriage of Ghazi Miyan.
320. *Panjab*.—Cowherds in milking let the first five streams of milk fall on the ground. The first milk is also sometimes given to a priest.
322. *Alwar*.—Installation of new Maharaja. By custom, at a certain spot he shoots a hare.
324. Ceremonial at Suttee. 327. Seven as sacred number.
329. If a corpse is brought aboard ship, the ship will sink in a storm.
330. A she-devil entered a boy, and said she meant to stay. The exorcist proceeded to thrash that boy. The she-devil came out.
360. Respect paid to cooking utensils.
365. Charm to walk on the water.—Wet a cloth in the blood of the snake which has a mouth at both ends; hold it in your mouth, and walk on the water.
368. *Nepal*.—There is such reverence for the cow that they will not approach it except in a position of adoration. If you want to stop a man from work in the fields all you have to do is to place a figure of a cow in the field.
369. Kinds of grain used in exorcism.
370. To make a husband subservient to his wife, cause him to eat owl's flesh.
371. Propitiation of river.—Part of the food thrown in, the rest shared by the people present. 374. Omens.
375. How to outwit the goblins at threshing and winnowing seasons.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

OBITUARY.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

THE death of GEORGE STEPHENS, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., is a loss to all studies which concern the past of mankind. Whenever such a man dies, he dies too soon. Dr. Stephens was born at Liverpool in 1813. He resided first at Stockholm, and afterwards at Copenhagen, where he became Professor of English Language and Literature. To enumerate his various publications, chiefly on archæological subjects, would require greater space than we have at command. His most important work is one upon the runic monuments of England and Scandinavia. But his interest in the science of folklore was deep and abiding, and his contributions to it were important. In conjunction with M. Hyltén Cavallius he published half a century ago the collection of *Swedish Folktales*, by which his name will be known to students of the subject for many a year. In his edition of *Sir Amadace*, an English metrical romance of the thirteenth century, published in 1860, he gave prominence to the history of the folktale incident (*The Grateful Unburied*) whereon the romance is founded. The name of Dr. Stephens will be found in the first list of members of the Folk-Lore Society ; and one of his last acts was to put into the hands of the Society for publication a transcript which he had himself made from a manuscript collection of stories of the fourteenth century. He was always ready to assist others who wanted to learn ; nor was there any end to the trouble he would take even for entire strangers who were in pursuit of information on antiquarian matters. He passed away on the 9th of August last at his residence at Copenhagen.



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REVIEWS.

ANCIENT AND HOLY WELLS OF CORNWALL. By MABEL and
LILIAN QUILLER-COUCH. Chas. J. Clark, 1895.

UNDER this title is put out a little book containing a description of nearly a hundred holy wells. It is based on a MS. collection of the late Mr. T. Quiller-Couch, and completed by his daughters. The authors have described what they saw, and given all the lore they could glean from the folk about the wells. They have illustrated the more interesting wells with pictures, and collected what allusions could be got from the various histories of Cornwall. We have thus just what the student wants, a collection of facts, with very little theorising upon them.

Most of the wells seem to be very picturesque. They are nearly all covered with a little building, like a small chapel, having a vaulted roof and Gothic or rounded door. Within we find frequently a niche, which, perhaps, served for the image of the patron saint ; now and then a font or altar, and a stone slab to sit on. Moreover, in nearly all cases there is a church near by, the ruins of a chapel, or some trace that a chapel once stood there : it is named, maybe, in an old history, or has left its mark in some chapel farm hard by. Other wells have a cross beside them. A large number of them (43) are named after some saint, who is said to have lived there, or to have made the well.

As regards the superstitions connected with them, some are still in full force, and we find the usual bathing of the sick, divination, votive pins (once rags and once coins are mentioned, but no more). Where this is not the case, an odour of sanctity lingers about them, so that this water is preferred for christenings ; or it may be there is just an impression that the water is healthy to drink, as that of St. Eunius is considered "better than pumpen water." Hardly any of the wells have anything naturally remarkable about them ; one or two are chalybeate, one has stalactites, and that is about all.



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HOLIDAY CUSTOMS IN MALTA, AND SPORTS, USAGES, CEREMONIES, OMENS, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE MALTESE PEOPLE. By V. BUSUTTIL. Malta, 1894, L. Busuttil.

IN the widespread British Empire government officials have an unrivalled opportunity of observing and recording the folklore of savage peoples, and of peoples who, though nominally civilised, are yet in bondage to all sorts of superstitions dating back in their origin to savage times. And it is fair to admit that advantage has in many instances been taken of the opportunity, though much more might be done if the Government were only alive to the practical importance of the work. The author of the little work before us is head-master of the Government School at Vittoriosa, on the island of Malta. Impressed with the accumulation of the traditions of the various nations that have exercised their sway on Maltese soil, he has described the principal festivals and some other usages and superstitions of the people, adding a few illustrations from the practices of classical times and of distant races. He has made good use of his position to collect information, and leaves the impression on the reader's mind that Malta will prove a fertile soil for further work of the same kind.

The description of the sword-dance at the Carnival, and "the bride" who figures in it, suggests that the performance is the relic of a folk-drama similar to our mummers. It is interesting to find that the house-spirit still exists in Malta, as formerly in Rome, in the shape of a snake. The slaughter of a puppet in the spring, which is, perhaps, still performed in many parts of Europe, appears to exist in Malta in tradition only. Children are made to believe that the *ghaguisa* (the oldest woman in the parish) is put to death on Mid-Lent Thursday by being thrown from the steeple of the parish church. Is this connected with the Italian custom mentioned in the President's address (*supra*, p. 57)? A human sacrifice at all events is plainly pointed at.

Mr. Busuttil should proceed with his investigations. There is much more to be learned by careful inquiries (not too directly put to natives, who are apt to be suspicious and reticent), both of the customs and superstitions mentioned by the author and of other traditions as yet unrecorded. In the present volume some of the attempts to account for the customs are not very happy, being derived from writers whose authority has been long super-

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Country, where he resides, is extremely interesting. He has not thought scorn to inquire into the modes of thought of his poorer neighbours. He has noted, and noted down for us, their prejudices, their precautions, their remedies ; and the student will find plenty of cause for gratitude to him. Having spent much of his time in the south of Europe, especially in Italy, too, Mr. Elworthy has not neglected the opportunity of acquiring either authentic details regarding the folklore of the countries where he has sojourned, or the material tokens and instruments of superstition. Many of the amulets he has obtained are figured, together with drawings (made often by himself) from works of ancient art. And he has displayed much ingenuity in tracing the development and meaning of some of these objects, of which an excellent example is his treatment of the Cimaruta. It is pleasant thus to wander with him round his private museum, and examine some of the most curious specimens, listening to his comments, generally instructive, even when they are least relevant, and not seldom both acute and to the purpose. We trust he will yet add much to his collection and our knowledge. And if some day he could be prevailed upon to deposit the former for a time in some central and accessible place, like the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, or the Folk-Lore Society's case at the Guildhall, or at Cambridge, so that the objects themselves, and not merely their photographs, could be inspected, he would be unselfishly conferring a boon on all who desire to study some of the obscurer phenomena in the history of culture.

CLAN TRADITIONS AND POPULAR TALES OF THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS, collected from oral sources by the late Rev. JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL, Minister of Tiree. Selected from the Author's MS. remains, and edited by JESSIE WALLACE and DUNCAN MACISAAC, with Introduction by ALFRED NUTT. D. Nutt, 1895.

THIS volume, the fifth of the series, called *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, edited by Lord Archibald Campbell, opens with an introduction, by Mr. Alfred Nutt, relating shortly the story of Mr. Campbell's life and his work in folklore, and an account of the selection which follows from his note-books. The selection itself consists of Clan Traditions, Legendary History, Stories about

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CORRESPONDENCE.

GHOSTLY LIGHTS.

(Vol. v. p. 293.)

THE short paper by Mr. Walhouse on Ghostly Lights, which recently appeared in *Folk-Lore*, is of special interest to me, because the popular belief in such lights was at one time, and no doubt still is, exceedingly common in my country (Denmark). As a child I heard stories about these lights, and when I was a big boy I was more than once on the look-out for them. My father was at that time clergyman in one of the low, marshy parts of Jutland. Even in recent years I have been told of such lights, foreshadowing fire, being seen in the village where I have resided as clergyman over a long course of years, in the neighbourhood of the place where my childhood was passed. Very trustworthy persons have not only told me stories of what their grandfathers or grandmothers have seen, but they have minutely described what their own eyes have witnessed. It has at last come home to me that a something really has appeared. What that something is is the question.

Looking over the materials for elucidating this point, I find four kinds of ghostly lights, namely :

1. Those that give warning of fire.
2. Corpse-candles.
3. Treasure-lights.
4. Marsh-fires, or "Will-o'-the-Wisp."

With regard to the first, those that give warning of a fire that is to come, I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding the many years I have passed in regions where those sights are said to be very common, I have never seen anything of the kind myself. I can only repeat what has been told to me, and in so doing I select some of the most interesting cases of which I am in possession.

In North Sleswick a house was in process of building ; every time the workmen touched a plank with their saws, or used their

axes, sparks were seen flying from the wood. The builder, beginning to feel alarmed, went to a renowned "wise man," named Jacob, to ask his advice. Mr. Jacob was well up in the subject, and informed the frightened farmer that those flying sparks betokened coming fire that would destroy his house; though *he* knew how to avert the calamity and "put the fire away" into a huge boulder. As long as the stone was untouched the house would be safe.

This tale, which I heard in my youth, is typical of many which I have been told in later years. It is indeed a very common superstition amongst carpenters that when, during the building of a house, sparks are struck from the wood, it signifies that the house will soon be destroyed by fire. The warning is called *forbrand*, *i.e.* burning beforehand. Compare the German verb *vorbrennen*. In Norway, I think it is called *ild-varsel*, *i.e.* fire-warning, and I will select some tales to show how it happens. There is a common rule in every case of warning, namely, the sooner after sunset it appears, the sooner will its fulfilment be. I should perhaps lay stress upon the fact that these ghostly lights are not seen by a single individual at a time, but often by many—for example, by the children of a school, or by a small company of persons walking together.

Whilst the school of the parish, where at the time I was clergyman, was being built, a man told the builder that the parish would have small service from the new house, for he had seen it burning before it was completed. However, nearly thirty years have passed since then, and I think the building is still standing.

The following tale was related to me by a very trustworthy and coolheaded farmer, who never touched spirits. "Before my marriage I was, as you know, gamekeeper to the squire. One evening in summertime, I and the herdsman were walking together in the fields as the sun was setting. I no longer remember what we talked about, but suddenly looking up, I exclaimed, 'Gracious God! what is this?' for I saw the manor-house on fire. Flames ran along the ridge of the house, and smoke in dense clouds surrounded it. The herdsman made the discovery at the same moment and began shouting out, while both of us ran for our lives. Neither of us had insured his small property, and nobody, as you know, likes to lose his few chattels. We ran with all our might, but on looking up a short time afterwards we

noticed that the sight had totally vanished ; it was after all only a 'fore-warning.' But I cannot tell you how terrified we both were."

Here the farmer's tale ends. I wrote it down instantly on my return home, and it is remarkable among the many others that I have heard for the clearness and conviction with which it was told.

I will repeat one other person's story as follows. "I was a grown-up boy at the time and had just left school. Our village had no watchman, and every night from November 1st to April 1st we watched by turns. So it happened that the son of our neighbour Peter and I were one night watching ; towards day-break I discovered a great fire south of the village. I called my companion and we took to our heels and ascended a low hill. For it was impossible to see anything where we had been standing, the rising ground on which the church was situated being in the way. But from the hill we saw everything clearly. There were large flakes of fire flying about, but we could not make out where they came from. Considering the direction, it seemed that the neighbouring village of Mejn must be on fire, so we resolved to call up the villagers. I ran to Mr. Thomsen's and stood looking at the fire, kicking with my heels at his door. 'What is the matter?' he cried. 'Mejn burns!' I answered, turning to the window. 'Hold thou thy peace, man,' said he, that fire will do no harm.' I turned round from the window, and lo ! the night was dark as before."

Fate is relentless, its decree cannot be gainsaid. Nevertheless, a threatened fire may be postponed by various means, and generations may pass before it happens. Here are some instances which could easily be multiplied.

A maid-servant, named Maren Björn, was some years ago in the employment of a farmer of Lindeballe. She was able to see hidden things ; she would go to the church on New Year's Eve, between seven and nine, to look for coming events. One of these evenings, whilst she was standing as onlooker at the different ghostly bridal and funeral processions, the "forewarnings" of things to come, she suddenly discovered that the farmhouse, where she was in service, was on fire. She walked leisurely up to the house, and plucking a handful of straw from the eaves—farm-houses in the country being usually thatched—she silently carried it into the kitchen and threw it in the fire on the hearth. People were very curious to hear what she had seen and what was the

axes, sparks were seen flying from the wood. The builder, beginning to feel alarmed, went to a renowned "wise man," named Jacob, to ask his advice. Mr. Jacob was well up in the subject, and informed the frightened farmer that those flying sparks betokened coming fire that would destroy his house; though *he* knew how to avert the calamity and "put the fire away" into a huge boulder. As long as the stone was untouched the house would be safe.

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Near Hadersley is a small village, Styding, which can never be ruined by fire. Years ago a man passing the village saw the "forewarning," and put the fire away into a rivulet in the neighbourhood. So long as there is one drop of water left the village cannot be set on fire.

As far as I know fire has most commonly been put away into trees. In another village near Hadersley, called Steppinge, there stands a very tall beech, called "the king's beech." As soon as that tree, which may be seen afar off, comes to be felled, a large farm, Andrussgaard, will burn. The owner once tried his axe on the tree, but at the first stroke sparks and fire were seen flying from the chimney top, and a man was despatched, riding at full speed, to stop the felling.¹

In Felsted, Middle-Sleswick, a very old oak is said still to be seen. It is decaying, and wooden plugs and patches of hemp often come into view. By means of these plugs fire is put away into the tree. Falling branches are never used as fuel but left to decay where they fall.²

How far this superstition is spread I am unable to tell; it is known in Norway, where the forewarning is called a "fire-sign," and is put off by giving alms to the poor;³ it is known in Germany;⁴ and I have been told that in England and in Italy such fiery forewarnings are heard of, but I can quote no literary instances.

I may add, before proceeding, that I went out to inquire how matters stand at the present time, and questioned students at the large Peasants' High School in our near neighbourhood. They are mostly farmers' children, young men and women between eighteen and twenty-five years. Some of them knew nothing, had never heard about such ghostly warnings; others, I think, mostly persons from out-of-the-way parts of the country, answered instantly in the affirmative. None of them had seen anything themselves, but they had often heard tales about fire-forewarning as well as of corpse-lights, ghostly funeral parties and so on. In the afternoon I dropped in on an old couple, retired farmers, putting the same question. Neither of them had ever seen anything them-

¹ The two last stories are told by Mr. Kristensen.

² Mullenhoff, *Sagen*, p. 570.

³ Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 311.

⁴ Wuttke, *Abergl.*, pp. 359, 422.

selves ; but as the conversation was turning on such things the old man, past seventy, told me of a tree standing where the road turns to the watermill in the neighbouring village. As soon as that is cut down the mill will burn. In all this there is a great difference since my youth, when there was a kind of religious belief in these things. They have now become survivals, where they are still found, and belong to the curiosity shop and will soon be forgotten. Politics, journals, meetings, public discourses on seed-work or dairy-work fill the minds, and the shrill whistle of the locomotive scares away the misty spectres of former times.

But, to proceed. Next come the Corpse Candles, which as far as I know have not so often been mentioned as the fire-fore-warnings, treasure-lights, and the Jack o' lantern. Still, there are not a few tales of them too. If a person in a house is ill, his death is forewarned by a light. It may be seen during the night slowly gliding from the house to the gate of the churchyard and along the church-road, which very often is not the common road, but that by which funeral processions pass. If a corpse candle be small, but red and bright, it is that of a child ; the candle of a grown up man or woman is larger but paler, and that of an aged person is blue. Sometimes death in a house is forewarned by corpse-flames, the part of the house in which a person is to die being, so to say, enveloped in light, glowing. Still it is different from fire-warnings, these latter producing sparks and flames, the corpse-flames only a bright, quiet light. Some say the earlier after sunset the forewarning is seen the sooner it will be fulfilled, such hour of night corresponding to a year. Others tell that the candle stays, not at the churchyard door, but can be seen quietly burning on the grave all night.

I will note down a tale or two.

It was New Year's Eve in 1851, between 7 and 8 o'clock, and the farmer, Kristen Lavrsen of Farre, in the parish of Give in Jutland, had just returned from the churchyard, where he always went that evening to look for coming events. His wife asked him, "Is anybody to die in our village this year ?" "Yes," he answered, "one person will die." "Young or old ?" "Old." Towards spring the man fell ill and his wife feared he might have seen his own corpse-candle. But another man, Ole Kristensen died. I remember it well ; his burial day was April 4th, and Kristen Lavrsen was so well that day that he was able to go out

to take a look at the funeral procession. His wife again asked if the procession he had seen on the eve of New Year was this one. "No," he answered, "another must come." Later on, in autumn, the wife of Hans Jakobsen died, and on returning from seeing her burial party, Kristen Lavrsen declared it was that party whose forewarning he had seen on New Year's Eve. Being asked by his son how he was able to discern whether the person whose death he saw foreshadowed was young or old, he said that a light or candle always accompanied the coffin. That of an old person advances slowly and quietly, that of a young person frisks and hops up and down and is restless.

Another man relates: "In the evening, as I was returning home from a visit, I clearly saw a small light slowly and quietly advancing from my own house across the moor and the meadow up towards the church. I took it for a corpse-candle, but thought nevertheless that it went a very curious way to church. Well, a week or two passed and a small foster-child we had died. Snow having fallen copiously on the day she was to be buried we decided upon her being carried by four men across the moor to the church, and they took just that same path by which I had seen the lights advancing."

A light of this kind must never be touched. A man was one evening passing the small wood eastwards of Trunderup, when, seeing a ghostly light burning, he walked up to it and struck at it with his stick. He was unable to proceed and got away only with great difficulty. Even then he was marked, his mouth having been pulled away towards one of his ears, and it was a long time before he recovered.

Lights may be seen coming also from the sea. The smith from Husby, a small village situated near the North Sea, told me that he and his mother (he was at that time a grown-up boy) saw seven lights advancing at short intervals along the road leading from the downs to the churchyard. Shortly afterwards a ship was wrecked and seven persons were drowned and carried by this same road to their last resting-place. I have still another example in mind. A malignant scarlatina having broken out in one of the western parishes, many children died, and during the night small lights were seen burning everywhere in the churchyard. On one grave, where three small children were buried, three lights were seen standing.

I now pass to another kind of ghostly lights. Those hitherto mentioned gave warning of deaths and burials soon to come. But there are others which burn, nay, "stand," that is the word, from generation to generation, and are seen in the same place first by one person, then by another, at any time of the year proclaiming that something shall happen; nobody knows when or what. In the neighbourhood of the village where I have lived for years was a pretty large rivulet. It had a ford which was sometimes dangerous to pass when the tide was in; still it was often used because it saved making a long circuit. At that very ford a light had been "standing," seen by many, for generations. During one of the last years of my being in office a very sad accident occurred; a young farmer was crossing the ford on horseback when, somehow or other, the horse lost its footing and the young man was drowned. Some days later I happened to walk from the railway station to my home in company with an elderly carpenter. Our conversation turned at once on the sad event of the last few days; and my companion, who had been working in the village beyond the river, told me how it had come to pass. People had warned the man most earnestly against taking the ford, but it was all in vain. He was so eager to go that he would hardly give time to get some dinner; it seemed as if he must go—well, there was his place; what must happen will happen! So the man finished his tale, expressing that decided belief in fatality that I have so often witnessed among the aged members of my congregation. But after this accident the light was seen burning no more.¹

Tales about lights of this kind are exceedingly common; but if

¹ Is this a case of a river-spirit demanding a human victim? One is reminded of the legend connected with the inexorable Peg o' Nell, the evil genius of the Ribble, as it is written in Henderson's *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, 1879, p. 265. Every seven years she demanded a life, and when "Peg's night" came round, "unless a bird, or cat, or a dog was drowned in the stream, some human being was certain to fall a victim there. Accordingly on one anniversary of the fatal evening a young man rode down to an adjoining inn on the way from Waddington to Clitheroe. No bridge then spanned the river at Brangerley; passengers crossed it at the ford, but it was so swollen on this occasion as to be unsafe. The young man was told of this, but he said . . . he must go on. The host and hostess tried hard to dissuade him from his purpose, while the maid added, 'And it's Peg o' Nell's night, and she has not had her life.' The traveller laughed and set off, but neither horse nor rider reached the opposite bank." M.R.C.

you want to learn the people's belief you must live among them and with them, or you will learn nothing at all. Ghostly lights are seen burning by marl-pits, ditches, horseponds, rivers, lakes, everywhere. Sometimes they have been "standing" longer than the memory of man, burning night after night, perhaps oftenest discovered on the eve of one of the greatest festivals of the year. They wait patiently till the accident has happened ; then they are extinguished and there is an end of it. Fate's decree has been fulfilled.

Others do not forewarn, like those of which I have spoken, but they mark the place of a bloody or evil deed, or the grave of a bad man or woman. I select one instance among many. On a certain hill in North Sleswick three candles are seen burning a fortnight before and a fortnight after St. Michael's day, September 29. During one moment they burn quietly, the next they attack each other, and rush about so quickly that the eye cannot follow their movements. Afterwards they again become quiet for some time. The tallest light is always seen in the middle, the two others are smaller. People tell that a father and his two sons were mowing when a disagreement arose and they got to blows. The scythes came into play and they all lost their lives. They were buried in the hill and the father's light is the tallest. The lights, I think, are the restless souls of the deceased that must wait till redemption comes. This seems to be evident when I compare the tales. Lights are seen where small murdered children lie in unconsecrated ground, where self-murderers, perjurors, robbers, and witches are buried, and I do not remember ever having heard of lights of this kind having vanished.

Before I proceed to the "treasure-lights" there are still some belonging to the "forewarning" kind, which I must mention. They have no evil signification and are spoken of very commonly. Some years ago, shortly after the new railway between Ribe and Bramminge had been opened, I was one day waiting for the train in company with some farmers. Conversation was flagging ; so, remembering what I had been told some years before at a christening party, I asked, " Didn't you ever see fiery forewarnings of this line ? " Before a word had been spoken about that other railway an elderly farmer told me that he had seen strange lights rush past his house at a wonderful speed accompanied by a long protracted din. Afterwards when the trains began running he at

once understood what he had seen. I had hardly introduced this topic before I got one tale after another. John, Tom, and many others had seen exactly similar things where the southward line some years later had been established. Yesterday I went to see our clockmaker, a farmer's son from the north, and told him that I was trying to classify the different kinds of ghostly lights of which there are so many tales. "Well," he answered, "don't forget to put in those which are seen burning where a house is to be built, a well sunk, or a pit dug. I certainly have not seen them; still I have been told many stories about them." That is just it. There may be forewarning lights connected with all sorts of things, however trivial, to be done outside the house. Still, I think, it is always something that is dug or built that is forewarned.

Nearly as wide-spread as the above-mentioned superstition is that of "treasure-lights"—I have no better name for them. They are seen burning on many a hill on the ancient sites of castles, or on ruins. It is commonly said that where a light burns something is hidden,—perhaps an evil deed, perhaps a treasure. Merely to name some of the many places where lights of this kind are seen would afford little interest to foreign readers. I shall therefore relate instead one of the more out-of-the-way tales of treasure-digging. A farmer, returning one night from a visit, discovered a light burning and knew at once that a treasure must there be hidden. So, being more clever than others, he hastened home to get the necessary working tools. Without speaking a word or answering a question, he returned with these to the wood, where he again found the place of the burning light and began digging, while a couple of ravens made a dreadful noise. And the deeper he dug the more turbulent the ravens became; and when his spade at last pushed against a trunk the ravens attacked him, striking him with their wings, till he exclaimed in terror: "Christ be gracious to me, they are going to crush my head!" Instantly the trunk disappeared, and the ravens desisting from their importunity took flight to a neighbouring tree, where they sat croaking: "Now you may seek the treasure in another wood." Besides this we have here quite the same incidents as we find in other countries; lights burning on mounds where underground-people live with their treasure; chests heard opening and closing on Christmas night, or other festivals of the church; mounds raised on pillars and fairies seen dancing beneath; many

persons trying to dig, but nearly always in vain, for they are scared away, or are induced to speak by all kinds of dreadful or ludicrous sights whereupon the treasure vanishes and sinks, and the diggers must go home empty-handed, often ill or with broken health.

Well, these treasure-fires have, I think, a special interest, because here is one of those cases in which a community between ancient and modern folk-belief can be traced. In *Grettis Saga*, ch. 18, we read that Grettir, returning late one night, saw a large fire burning on the headland northward from the house of Audùn. Grettir asked what was going on there. Audùn answered, it would be of no interest for him to learn. "People would say," Grettir replied, "if a sight like that were seen in my country, that a treasure was hidden where that fire burns." Grettir learns what he wants to know, digs out the mound, conquers the ghost, and lifts the treasure. Much grander is the saga about Hervor, who, disguised as a man, disembarks on Samsö, where she asks her way of a shepherd to the mounds of the buried berserker. He tries to dissuade her from going; "nobody can remain after sunset outside his house;" but she does not yield. When the sun has set a din is heard from the mounds; flames (*hauga-eldr*) are blazing; and the shepherd flees without looking back. But Hervor goes to the mounds, and sees the mound-dweller standing outside, while she fearlessly wades through the fire as through smoke till she comes to the graves of berserker.¹

To this day the fires are called "vafurlogi, málmlogi," in Iceland; beyond that the scenery is very much changed.

The Will-o'-the-Wisp I shall only just mention. He certainly belongs also to the ghostly fires. I think we have all the common incidents here, too. He is the soul of an unrighteous surveyor, or of an unbaptized, murdered child. He is sometimes courteous, and on dark nights lights wanderers home for a penny or two, but often plays pranks, leading belated wanderers astray, and so on. Especially dangerous is it to point at him; whoever does so cannot avoid losing his way. I will only add what I was told the day before yesterday, that an old herdsman who had often seen "Jack," and knew all his evil tricks, seeing him one evening in

¹ *Hervarar Saga*, p. 14, edit. 1847.

the neighbouring moor, caught hold of the handle of the stable-door with his left hand, pointing at him with his right, triumphantly exclaiming, "Well, Jack, I should like you to try and lead me astray this time!"

But now the main question arises, How are these lights to be explained? Do they only possess an imaginary existence in the eyes and minds of those persons who see them, or is there any kind of reality lurking behind the superstition? I put aside cases of defective observation. I know of one, for instance, where the reflection from a lighthouse on the church windows caused the belief that ghostly lights were kindled nightly in the church. Another case my old herdsman explained to me. He had seen many of those lights, and knew them well; nevertheless, he too, along with others, had been deceived. For many years the folks of our village had seen a light "standing" beyond the sea on the neighbouring isle of Fanö. It was found to be due to the reflection of the setting sun in the pane of a window. I also eliminate cases of belated wanderers carrying lanterns, and those wherein wilful deception is employed. Yet I think that many cases will remain where cool-headed, trustworthy men have seen lights, either single or by the hundred, flames on houses, lights on hills or on stones—what of all those? I at least have not been able to tell my farmer friends to their faces: "You deceive yourselves, there is nothing whatever real in what you relate." One of our eminent men, the deceased Professor Forchhammer, once said in a discourse: "Men of the people mostly make just observations, but as often explain fantastically or superstitiously." Being himself, as far as I know, a son of the people (he was an eminent chemist and geologist), his words have for me had a certain weight. Applying Mr. Forchhammer's maxim to the question before us, I should be inclined to say some phenomenon of light has been seen, and has been interpreted as forewarnings, treasure-lights, and so on, by people in whom all the old, old superstitions, or, if you prefer the old religious beliefs of heathenism, are still living. I know very well that the scientific reality of Mr. Jack-o'-Lantern has been doubted. A remark, somewhat wide, may perhaps not be amiss. Students of chemistry and electricity commonly assemble in towns or at universities, and see but little of what may be observed in woods, moors, heaths, and marshes by persons day and night on the move, such as farmers, herdsmen,

hunters, or others in the open air. In a scientific journal the question was raised as to the existence of Jack-o'-Lantern (*Lygtemænd*), and some well-observed cases were advanced, one of which, communicated by a country teacher, I relate, as throwing some light on "fire-forewarnings." In 1889, a farmer, Lars Hansen, and his wife, were returning from a visit on Shrove Monday. Walking leisurely along, they observed a light moving northwards towards them, and thought it was the lantern of some belated wanderer. Suddenly the light stopped, blazed up, and vanished; but near by at the same moment flames were seen bursting out from the roof, or the house-ridge, of Mr. H. Petersen's farm. The wife of Lars Hansen, being anxious about her husband's absence—for he would, of course, be obliged to go to the place where the fire was—began to complain at being left alone at home. The flames were seen above the northern range of the building, perhaps for a length of about 6 or 8 yards. The couple having by now reached their home, had no time, however, to give the alarm of fire before the flames, suddenly disappearing from the farm, were seen advancing as a great light northwards. This is possibly a case, I suppose, of some electric phenomenon, a kind of St. Elmo lights. Others may have to do with ignited marsh gases. And one must not omit mention either of that species of lichen (*byssus phosphorea*, L.), which gives light in darkness, and seems to have been, in more than one instance, the origin of the belief that treasures are found in hills and below large boulders.

This is one side of the question; as to the other, why some of the superstitions above related should have been associated with the phenomena of light I have at present no answer whatever to offer.

H. F. FEILBERG.

*Askov, Vejen, Denmark,
February 28, 1895.*

THE GARHWAL, AN INDIAN HARVEST CEREMONY.

(Vol. v. p. 351.)

The account given reminds me of the ceremony which takes place at Easter-time in the cathedral at Florence when the sliding

of an imitation dove along a cord and its safe arrival at the end augurs a good harvest.

Would some one who has seen this Florentine custom, or who has access to accurate accounts of it, be able to draw parallels between the Indian and Italian ceremonies?

The words in quotation marks on p. 351, "rather like an angel," suggest that the man in white typifies the descent of a blessing from above, much as the dove does.

LUCY E. BROADWOOD.

[Compare the Garhwal with the ceremony, also Indian, referred to *supra*, p. 207. The two ceremonies seem to be the same, and there can be little doubt that they are both relics of human sacrifice, whatever the Florentine custom may be.—E. S. H.]

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT TEETH.

(Vol. vi. p. 86.)

It is said here that you will have to find all your teeth at the day of judgment. But if, when you pull a tooth out, you put salt upon it, throw it into the fire and say :

Good tooth, bad tooth,
Pray God send me a good tooth,

you will not have to find it at the judgment day.

Sheffield.

C. R. HIRST.

This superstition is current in Wakefield and Sheffield and also in the north of Derbyshire. It is of old standing.

S. O. ADDY.

In answer to a query on page 86, Why it is necessary to put into a man's coffin the teeth he shed during his lifetime, I suggest that if the teeth were not put in, the man would in his new life be incomplete. This is put definitely in De la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, i. 127, where it is said that the Indians preserve nail-pairings and hair, placing them in holes or niches of the wall; and, if possible, spit in one place, in order that when the souls rise out of their tombs, with all that belonged to them, they may not have to search for these. Elaborate directions for disposal of bone and nail-pairings are given in the *Zend Avesta* (*Trans. S. B. E.*, ii. 186 ff.).

W. H. D. ROUSE.

FOLKLORE OBJECTS FROM ARGYLESHERE.

CORP CHRE.

(Vol. vi. p. 144.)

A belief in this form of witchcraft still survives among the dwellers in the Bog of Ardee, near the village of that name, in co. Louth. These people, who are very poor, and rather looked down on by their neighbours as being "wild" and ignorant, were formerly, and perhaps are still, in the habit of working this charm in quarrels among themselves, which are frequent and bitter. Only a few years ago a case in which one woman tried to kill another by this means was brought to light in the police court at Ardee.

The details of "burying the sheaf" as it is termed are difficult to obtain; but, as far as I have been able to discover, they are as follows. The person working the charm first goes to the chapel and says certain prayers with his back to the altar; then he takes a sheaf of wheat, which he fashions like the human body, sticking pins in the joints of the stems and (according to one account) shaping a heart of plaited straw. This sheaf he buries in the name of the devil near the house of his enemy, who he believes will gradually pine away as the sheaf decays, dying when it finally decomposes. If the operator of the charm wishes his enemy to die rapidly he buries the sheaf in wet ground where it will soon decay; but if, on the other hand, he desires his victim to linger in pain he chooses a dry spot where decomposition will be slow.

In the case alluded to above it is said that the woman who worked the charm was discovered by the relatives of her victim, who was ill, coming by night to pour water on the sheaf to hasten its decay.

Burying the sheaf of wheat is mentioned as being practised in Westmeath in *The Dead-Watchers and other Folk-tales*, by Patrick Bardan, in which details are given of a procedure slightly different from the one I have described; but I have not the book with me here, and so cannot refer to it.

Red House, Ardee, co. Louth.

BRYAN J. JONES.

PUZZLE.

(Vol. vi. p. 159.)

Dr. Maclagan kindly forwards the following corrected directions

for making and putting together the puzzle described in his notes, and exhibited at the meeting of the 20th February last.

From Miss E. Kerr, Port Charlotte, Islay.

To make the Coirlegheile.—Take six pieces of wood, each about three inches long by half an inch square. Take two of them, and from the centres make a half check half an inch in length and quarter of an inch deep towards one of the ends.

Measure from the centres, a quarter of an inch towards the other ends, and from there make a half check a quarter of an inch long by a quarter of an inch deep. Clean the checks carefully, and laying the two pieces of wood with the cut surfaces together they will be found to correspond, and form two rectangular spaces, one half an inch square toward the one end from the centre, and the other a quarter of an inch long by half an inch across with a quarter of an inch of wood between the two spaces.

Take another piece, and on its centre cut a half check an inch long and a quarter deep. Place this piece, with uncut side downwards, in the smaller space of the other two pieces.

Take two other pieces and cut a half check in each one inch long by a quarter inch deep, put the cut surfaces together and laying them flat, cut as it were at right angles to the space formed on the centre of the pieces of wood, a half check half an inch long by a quarter of an inch deep. Taking up the three pieces previously fitted together, put the thinnest part of the wood of pieces 4 and 5 into the spaces left on either side of Nos. 1 and 2 in No. 3, the small checks upwards and the larger checks toward Nos. 1 and 2.

These 5 pieces now form a cross with a square hole in the centre, the single piece of wood forming a guide into hole. Now pass the sixth piece through the hole, and a complete cross with six points will be formed.

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND SUPERSTITIONS
OF THE LEWIS.

(Vol vi. p. 162.)

The Rev. Malcolm MacPhail desires to say that he does not wish to make himself responsible for the statements (*supra*, p. 167)

that the sacrifice of a black cock is *still* practised in the Lewis, and that a black cock was actually sacrificed in Uig two years before his notes were written. He is not aware that the cure for toothache (p. 168) is *still* performed. He has ascertained that the vermin porridge (p. 169) was used for exorcising the vermin from the wall of the sheiling during its occupation in summer. In the Gaelic sentence on p. 165, for *thugain* read *cur thugainn*.

CHARMS.

(Vol. vi. p. 202.)

Charming was very common in my present parish, and is still. There were several people whom I know who used to charm. The following is a copy of a real charm, written by a man who lives near me, for the use of one of my churchwardens, but which, I think, he never used, and it somehow or other came into my hands. "As Peter stood at the gates of Jerusalem Jesus said unto him Why standest thou here and he said My teeth do ache and Jesus said unto him Whosoever carrieth these lines about them or beareth them in memory shall never have the tooth ache any more In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost Amen and Amen so be it according to thy faith." Very unfortunately a number of old charms which were once in the possession of this man have been lost. I will some day see whether he can give me, or rather *will*, as they are often very tenacious of these secrets, some of those which he remembers. This same man, a wheelwright and a very good religious man, gave me the following, some time ago. It is used in Herefordshire. "A man to go and cut a notch at 12 o'clock at night on the top rail of a gate for nine nights, on the last a woman will appear (his future wife), he must hand her the knife and she will cut the 9th notch."

Llanigon, Radnorshire.

W. E. T. MORGAN.

THRESHOLD CUSTOMS.

In this neighbourhood, and, I think, everywhere in Yorkshire, it is the custom amongst poor people to draw the letter S in the sand upon the threshold when they sand the floor. Can it be the first letter of SALVE, or is it related to the prehistoric serpentine marks? Is it found elsewhere than in Yorkshire?

Sheffield.

SIDNEY O. ADDY.

MISCELLANEA.

WORCESTERSHIRE SUPERSTITIONS.

I HAVE a maid well up in Worcestershire superstitions. The following are new to me, though you may have met with them.

E. J. LADBURY.

Goldness, Hartlebury, near Kidderminster.

If you have borrowed salt, it is unlucky to return any in the place of it.

In preparing needlework, never "place it" with a *black* pin, or that piece of work will never be finished.

To say good-bye over a stile brings bad luck.

To say good-bye at cross-roads foretells that you will be parted from your friends.

If four persons cross arms when shaking hands, one of the four will shortly be married.

FOLKTALES.

Ashey Pelt.

The following tale was told me by a woman now living, a native of Ulster, aged about sixty :—

Well, my grandmother she told me that in them auld days a ewe might be your mother. It is a very lucky thing to have a black ewe. A man married again, and his daughter, Ashey Pelt, was unhappy. She cried alone, and the black ewe came to her from under the greystone in the field and said, "Don't cry, go and find a rod behind the stone and strike it three times, and whatever you want will come." So she did as she was bid. She

wanted to go to a party. Dress and horses and all came to her, but she was bound to be back before twelve o'clock or all the enchantment would go, all she had would vanish. The sisters they did na' like her; she was so pretty, and the step-mother she kept her in wretchedness just.

She was most lovely. At the party the Prince fell in love with her, and she forgot to get back in time. In her speed a-running she dropped her *silk* slipper, and he sent and he went over all the country to find the lady it wad fit. When he came to Ashey Pelt's door he did not see her. The sisters was busy a-nipping and a-clipping at their feet to get on the silk slipper, for the king's son he had given out that he loved that lady sae weel he wad be married on whaever could fit on that slipper.

The sisters they drove Ashey Pelt out bye to be out of the road, and they bid her mind the cows. They pared down their feet till one o' them could just squeeze it on. But she was in the quare agony I'm telling you.

So off they rode away ; but when he was passing the field the voice of the auld ewe cried on him to stop, and she says, says she—

“ Nippet foot, and clippet foot
Behind the king's son rides,
But bonny foot, and pretty foot
Is with the cathering hides.”

So he rode back and found her among the cows, and he married her, and if they lived happy, so may you and me.

The Three Golden Balls.

Told by a young woman, a native of Romsey, aged about 21.

There was once an old woman who lived with her husband and her three little daughters. One was named Pepper, one Salt, and one Mustard. One day their father told them he was going to the fair, and he asked them what he should bring them home, and they all said, “ A golden ball each.” Their father then wished them good-bye, and set off. In the evening he returned, and brought each of them a golden ball, which they got up early next morning to play with. Their mother told them that if they lost them she would hang them up on the gallows-tree. They were very happy playing, when little Pepper began to cry. Her

sisters asked her what was the matter, and she told them she had lost her ball. They dared not go home because of their mother.

But, alas ! it got so late that they went home. Their mother, seeing that little Pepper was crying, asked what ailed her ; and she said, "I have lost my ball." And the mother, in her anger, hung her up on the gallows-tree. Next day the father went to her, and she said—

" Oh, father, have you found my ball,
Or have you paid my fee,
Or have you come to take me down
From this old gallows-tree ? "

And he replied—

" I have not found your golden ball,
Nor have I paid your fee,
Nor have I come to take you down
From this old gallows-tree ."

Bye-and-bye her two sisters came to see her, and she said—

" Oh, sisters, have you found my ball,
Or have you paid my fee,
Or have you come to take me down
From this old gallows-tree ? "

And they made the very same answer as the father had given.

So poor little Pepper had to stop there all night. The next day brought her better luck. Her sweetheart came to see her, and she asked—

" Oh, Charlie ! have you found my ball ? " &c., &c.

and he replied—

" 'Tis I have found your golden ball,
And I have paid your fee,
And I am come to take you down
From this old gallows-tree ."

Then her sweetheart cut her down, and they were changed into two little birds. Soon after her father came and heard two little voices up in the tree asking—

" Oh, father ! have you found my ball," &c., &c.

On hearing this, the father ran away very frightened ; and his wicked wife and two little daughters came against the tree, and heard the little voices say the same words. All of a sudden they

heard a great rustling of leaves, and looking up, they saw the forms of little Pepper and her sweetheart flying to the ground. And they all went home, and lived a great many years.

M. DAMANT.

Lammas, Cowes, I. of Wight.

IRISH FOLKTALES.

A little book, entitled “*Siamsa an gheimhridh*: Sports of the Winter or Beside the Hearth in Iar-Connacht; Stories, poems, songs, riddles, &c., gathered by Donald O’Faherty” (pp. 144, Patrick O’Brien, Dublin), was published in 1892; and, although somewhat late in the day, a brief notice of its contents may be of assistance to those on the outlook for “parallels.” There are here given in Irish the following tales:—

P. 5. *Seul Dheirdre* (Story of Deirdre).—This is a very close parallel to Mr. Larminie’s “King Mananawn” (*West Irish Tales*, p. 64) from Achill. Another parallel is “Gilla na Grakin and Fin Mac Cumhail” (Curtin’s *Irish Myths*, p. 244). The characters here are: a son of the King of Ireland (unnamed); Murcha (the hero), who, with the king’s son, is serving his time with a smith, Mananán; and Deirdre ni Manannain, the daughter of the smith. As in Mr. Larminie’s tale there is a quarrel in the smithy, and the king’s son is to have the “first blow without defence out of Ireland.” They depart by two doors, Deirdre following Murcha. They meet Finn, who asks Murcha to go with him, and Deirdre’s consent is obtained by her being seen while she is combing her hair, when she cannot refuse. Then come the incidents in which Murcha obtains food, &c., from the enemy. On their way back the king’s son meets them, has his blow, and kills Murcha. Deirdre takes the body to an isle, where Murcha is restored by a bottle of healing. He fights and kills certain foes, the Hag of the Feather Pot, and a cat who afterwards attacks him. He and Deirdre return, meet the king’s son, who is then slain. The story contains a sailing “run” twice repeated.

P. 23. *Diarmuid Sígach* (Merry Diarmuid).—On Hallowe’en Diarmuid rescues from the fairies the daughter of the King of Leinster. She is in a deep sleep till that night year, when he overhears the fairies say she can be awakened by removing a

slumber pin from her hair. He does so, and restores her to her father. They marry and return to Connemara, and there are those who say that the blood of the Kings of Leinster still runs in their veins.

This is a variant of a well-known tale, Dr. Hyde's "Guleesh," &c.

P. 46. *The Lioprachán*.—A tale of a lioprachawn captured by a man in the hope of getting money out of him. The treasure not being forthcoming he is locked in a box and so kept for twenty-one years, each seventh year letting a laugh out of him. In the end the man's curiosity gets the better of him and he insists on knowing why he laughed. He is told, and when he hears that the third laugh was caused by the lioprachawn seeing a man steal his hidden store of money he goes crazy.

P. 51. *Cailleac na n-adhart* (The Horned Hags).—A variant of Lady Wilde's tale. There is, however, an important point here in that when the woman goes to the well she knocks her hand against a stone, which she curses. "Don't say that," replies the stone, "I am your mother, who came before you to give you advice." She then tells her how to get rid of her unwelcome visitors.

P. 60. *Leaduidhe na luaithe* (Ashypet).—Boy lies in the ashes till he is twenty. Fills seven acres around him with the ashes he shakes from himself. Takes service with a king and kills three giants, obtaining sword of light, hero's robe, and steed. Rescues the king's daughter from an ollpheist, the monster being unable to pass a boundary he cuts on the ground with the sword of light. The beast is slain and he takes its tongue. King offers his daughter to the man who will produce the tongue. Courtiers bring calves' tongues, but at last the Leaduidhe comes and the princess recognises him by the hair she had cut from his head. "She married him and the other people went away."

P. 81. *An bheirt dhearbharrathar* (The Two Brothers).—A story of the Hudden and Dudden type. The poor brother's wife journeys to hell and finally obtains a gift from Satan, while the rich brother and his wife on the same errand perish miserably.

P. 116. *An Chailleach Bheura*.—A translation of this is given by Professor Kuno Meyer, on pp. 132, &c., of *The Vision of Mac Conglinne* (Nutt, London, 1892). The second line of her Doings should, however, read, "She did not eat *but* when she was hungry."

There are besides several shorter pieces: "The Tale of the Wren," "The Legend of the Dardaol" (which is said to have assisted the Jews in the taking of Our Lord), &c., and many riddles and charms. The whole has been gathered in Iar-Connacht, and on p. 140 is a list of the persons from whom the various tales, &c., were obtained. The book is printed in Irish character, and contains a short vocabulary giving the English of uncommon words.

LELAND L. DUNCAN.

IRISH FOLKLORE RELATING TO CHURCHES.

About a quarter of a century ago I was walking in the nave of York Minster, when a respectably dressed Irish working-man came up to me and entered into conversation. He had probably ascertained by some means with which I am unacquainted that I am a Catholic. After making some remarks which have left no impression on my mind, he said: "I have been told, sir, that there is one old door in this church that is always kept shut, because nobody except one of our priests can open it—do you know anything about it?" I said I had never heard the story before, but that I would make inquiries. I have mentioned the subject to several of my Yorkshire friends. The tale was, however, quite new to them.

An Irish peasant woman who now lives in England told me some four or five years ago, in a manner which indicated that she felt well assured of the truth of what she reported, that in one of the old churches in Dublin, now in the hands of Protestants, there is preserved a Catholic holy-water stoup. "The ministers of the church," she said, "had long been anxious to get rid of it, and had had it many times carried out of the church, but it was always found back again in its old place the next morning."

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Dunstan House, Kirton-in-Lindsey.

OBITUARY.

CHARLES PLOIX.

We regret to have to record the death, at the age of seventy, on the 21st February last, of M. Charles-Martin Ploix, President of the Société des Traditions Populaires, and to offer, though somewhat late, our fraternal sympathy with our French comrades in the loss they have sustained. M. Ploix was a man of considerable distinction in his profession—that of marine engineering—and of intellectual sympathies that reached far beyond his professional studies. Those of us who attended the International Folklore Congress of London have a vivid recollection of his fine presence and genial personality. His theories on the subject of mythology and folk-tales were not in favour in this country; but every one recognised his sincerity, and was touched by the devotion and eloquence with which he advocated them. The loss of his wife, who had long been in delicate health, some months before his death, left him with a feeling of desolation which perhaps rendered him an easier prey to the rigours of the last terrible winter. M. Ploix was a member of the Folk-Lore Society.

FRANÇOIS-MARIE LUZEL.

Breton folklore has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of M. Luzel, on the 26th February last, at the age of seventy-four. It is almost impossible to over-estimate his services in rescuing the folklore of his nation from the hands of romancers and poets. Far be it from us to undervalue poetry and romance. They are frequently among the highest and most valuable efforts of the human intellect; but when they are deliberately palmed off upon an unsuspecting public as the genuine products of the popular imagination, of which in reality they are only the bedizened and distorted presentment, it is time for all who have any regard for truth and any feeling for traditional poetry and humour

to protest, and to show, if they can, a more excellent way. Leaving to others the work of criticism, M. Luzel set an example to collectors of folklore in Brittany ; and it is to his example that we owe the admirable work of M. Sébillot, M. Le Braz, and others who are proud to reckon themselves his disciples. His splendid collections of tales and songs from *la Bretagne bretonnante* are prized by all students of the subject, and will long keep his memory green and fresh as the pioneer of the Science of Tradition in Brittany.

MICHEL DRAGOMANOV.

The name of M. Dragomanov was not so well known in this country as it deserved to be, both as a Russian patriot and a scholar learned in tradition. In the cause of Russian freedom he suffered much in his earlier days, being deprived in 1876 of his professorship at Kiew and forced to flee the empire. Settled for some years at Geneva, he devoted a large part of his enforced leisure to folklore studies. Previous to his exile he had published collections of Ukrainian folk-songs and of stories from Little Russia. He subsequently issued a number of other articles and monographs, some of them of an important character, on similar subjects. Most of these are unfortunately in languages but little studied in England. Ultimately he was appointed professor of history at Sofia, where he died a few weeks since. He belonged to a Cossack family of Ukrainia, and was born in 1841.

It would not be right to conclude a notice of M. Dragomanov, however short and inadequate, without referring to the great collection of Bulgarian folklore entitled the *Sbornik*, of which he was editor. This national work is being published at the expense of the Bulgarian government. Our own government unfortunately is so poor that it cannot find a penny for such patriotic works as the collection and preservation of the national traditions, and the Ethnographical Survey. These must be left to be carried out, under manifold disadvantages and consequent defects, by private enterprise. A copy of the *Sbornik*, Vols. I-IX., is in the library of the Folk-Lore Society.

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[No IV.

FOLK-SONGS COMPRISED IN THE FINNISH *KALEVALA.*

BY CHARLES J. BILLSON, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of May 15th, 1895.*)

IF it were necessary to convince some unscientific person too greedy for immediate results, that the work of collecting and studying folklore may have some bearing even upon practical life, one could not give him a better example to digest than the case of Finland. The surprising development of the Finns during the present century is due of course to many different causes, but no one acquainted with the subject would deny that it has been to a very large extent fostered by the efforts of the Finnish Literary Society, and the collection of those marvellous stores of folklore which lay buried under the austere reserve of the Finnish peasant.¹

That the publication of the *Kalevala* was an event of some political importance is already obvious. It has stirred

¹ The Finnish Literary Society (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura*) was founded in 1831, and in the same year granted a travelling scholarship to Dr. Lönnrot, and afterwards published the results of his research—the *Kalevala* and *Kanteletar*, as well as his great collections of proverbs, riddles, and magic charms.

the fibre of nationality amongst a people who have never as yet shown any political genius ; it has revealed to an obscure race their own unity and power ; it has awakened an enthusiasm for national culture and historic life which appear destined to have far-reaching effects.

The collection of Finnish folklore has thus been undertaken in a spirit and upon a scale quite without precedent. Scholars and peasants have vied with each other in their ardent efforts to unveil the hidden life of so many centuries, upon the basis of which they are hoping to erect a vigorous nationality. The results are astounding. As far as mere numbers go they are without any parallel. I have not any recent figures, but in the year 1889 the Finnish Literary Society had already collected 22,000 songs, 13,000 stories, 40,000 proverbs, 10,000 riddles, 2,000 folk-melodies, and 20,000 incantations and games.¹ The wealth of this great collection does not consist, however, in its enormous bulk, but in the quality of its contents. Amongst those 22,000 songs are many gems of poetry which the world would not willingly let die ; amongst those incantations and tales are many relics of the past preserved by this ancient and unique people which are of vast importance to the science of folklore, and can materially increase our knowledge of the history and development of mind.

This is not the place in which one should dwell upon the literary fascination of the Finnish runes. They reflect souls so uncorrupted and a passion for Nature so intense, that, as soon as their superficial strangeness has worn away, they cannot fail to touch the heart. Not less deep is their scientific interest, and I will mention one aspect of their importance.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of its history and of its geographical position, Finland offers unusual facilities for studying the problem of the diffusion of folklore. Aliens

of a widely different type of race from their western neighbours the Swedes, and also from their Russian neighbours on the east, the Finns have been constantly borrowing. They have appropriated the words, the songs, the tales, even in some cases the myths, of Scandinavia and Russia, and if any future Grimm be destined to expound the law which governs the transmigration of ideas, he will undoubtedly derive many a valuable hint from Finland.¹

Before I speak of the songs themselves I ought to say a word about the Finnish method of singing, which is very archaic, and is said to be still kept up in Karelia.² The songs are accompanied by a kind of zither, called the *Kantele*, which originally contained five strings, made first of horsehair, and afterwards of metal. The old melody which accompanied the runes is founded on G minor, and does not go higher than D nor lower than F sharp.³ While the *Kantele* is being played, two rune

¹ See Comparetti on the *Kalevala* (1892), especially the first and last chapters. (The references in this paper are to the German edition.) On the amalgamation of Swedish and Finnish songs, tales, and traditions, see a pamphlet by Ernest Lagus (Helsingfors, 1891), *Du Folklore Suédois en Finlande*. “Un sujet,” he says, “des plus intéressants est encore le rapport qui existe entre la poésie populaire finnoise et la poésie populaire suédoise dans notre pays. Voilà une mission intéressante pour le folklore comparatif, plus intéressante, ce me semble, que dans tout autre pays, car, comme on le sait, notre patrie est habitée par des peuples d’origine très différente, parlant des langues qui appartiennent à deux différentes familles : le suédois à la famille indo-européenne et le finnois à celle des langues ural-altaïques. Dans aucun pays il n’y a de plus grande dissemblance d’origine et de langue entre les habitants. La poésie populaire a-t-elle pu traverser l’abîme qui les sépare ? Le génie de la poésie germanique a-t-il réussi à se faire comprendre par un peuple hongrois-finnois et vice-versa ?” (P. 5.)

² Brown, *People of Finland in Archaic Times*, p. 279, quoting Dr. Heinrich Helms’ *Finnland und die Finnlaender* (Leipzig, 1869).

³ At the International Folklore Congress of 1891, Professor Ilmari Krohn pointed out that the folk-music of the Finns has developed under Swedish influence to a perfection which it never attained by itself. At the same time the literary merit of the folk-songs has to a large extent departed. “La poésie lyrique est remplacée par la musique lyrique.” (*Proceedings*, London, 1892, p. 137.)

singers sit opposite each other, and “having their hands locked together accompany the instrument with their song and the motion of their bodies, raising each other alternately from their seats.”¹ One of the singers recites or chants a verse and his companion joins in the last word or two, and then repeats the verse alone. The first singer has now thought of the second verse, and this is sung in the same way. In one of the folk-songs the character of the true singer is delineated by one who professes to have been trained in the wisdom of Lapland, the traditional home of wizards, and the poet there says that after taking his seat upon a rock previously to singing, he takes off his coat and turns it inside out.² The object of this manœuvre is of course to strengthen the magic power of his singing, and it is a very interesting point, but whether it was ever a custom with Finnish singers I do not know. It appears, however, from passages in the *Kalevala* and the *Loitsurunoja* that the old and orthodox practice, in summer at least, was to sing without any clothes on at all.³

The collections of Finnish folk-songs which are best known and most accessible are three in number.

I. First and foremost stands the *Kalevala*, the so-called National Epic of Finland, which is composed of a great number of popular songs, ballads, charms, and runic poetry

¹ Acerbi's *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland*, 1802, vol. i. p. 226. See the excellent illustration there given, which has been reproduced in Retzius' *Finland i nordiska museet* (Stockholm, 1881), and also in the Finnish edition of the *Kalevala*, published in 1887.

² *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 279, line 39: “Kaannan vaarin vaatteheni murrin turkkini musuran” (*i.e.* “I turn my furs inside out”).

³ In the *Kalevala* (xii. 149), the Lapland wizards are described as sitting on a rock on a summer night:

“ Ilman vyöttä vaattehitta,
Rikorihman kiertämättä,’

which Schiefner translates:—

“ Ohne Gurt und ohne Rocke
Ohne dass ein Band sie deckte.” Cf. Loitsurunoja, p. 21.

strung together into an artistic whole by the genius of Dr. Lönnrot.

II. The second and third collections were also made by Lönnrot; one under the name of *Kanteletar*, comprising about 750 folk-songs, the greater number of which are pure lyrics, many of Swedish, and some of Russian origin.¹

III. The third collection, published by Lönnrot in 1880 under the name *Suomen Kansan Loitsurunoja* (*Magic Songs of the Finnish Folk*), contains nearly 900 spells, charms, and incantations.² One of the most interesting points about these magic songs is their similarity to those preserved in the sacred Accadian books discovered at Babylon; and it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary instance, or a more conclusive proof, of the permanence of racial beliefs, than that which is offered by the almost simultaneous discovery of these two sets of charms, the one committed to writing many centuries before the Christian Era, and the other taken down from the mouths of persons still living, modern representatives of the old Accadian stock, who are thus convicted of preserving for many thousands of years a tradition of magic which has

¹ *Kanteletar, elikkä Suomen Kansan Vanhoja Lauluja ja Virsiä*, 1st edition, 1840, 3rd edition, 1887. The references in this paper are to the 3rd edition. The *Kanteletar* is divided into three Parts : the first Part containing Songs for Everybody; the second Part, Songs for Different People, that is to say, a large collection of girls' songs and women's songs, a few boys' songs, and a number of men's songs. The third Part contains Ballads and Romances, and these are divided into Ancient Ballads (19), Mediaeval Ballads (32), Historical, (9), and Miscellaneous (77). Some of the most interesting of the ancient and mediaeval ballads are variants or originals of episodes in the *Kalevala*. Besides the nine strictly historical ballads, others are founded upon historical incidents, for example, the celebrated romance of Elina's Death (pt. iii. song 35) (lately dramatised and placed upon the Finnish stage — a very spirited version of Othello and Desdemona with a female Iago) is founded upon an actual occurrence of the 15th century. The German translation of *Kanteletar*, by Hermann Paul (Helsingfors, 1882), comprises chiefly a number of the subjective lyrics from the first and second parts.

² *Suomen Kansan muinaisia Loitsurunoja*. Helsingfors, 1880.

been but slightly affected by extreme changes of environment.¹

I propose in the present paper to deal primarily with the first of these great stores of popular poetry. It is now well known to scholars that the *Kalevala* is a mere patchwork of popular runes, but fortunately the original elements are themselves in existence, and it is thus possible to unravel the various threads of which the poem is woven. This process of separating the elemental folk-songs from their artificial context has been very laboriously and skilfully accomplished by Finnish scholars, and my analysis is based mainly upon the works of Professors Julius Krohn and Comparetti. It will be obvious to all students of folklore that this rather tedious work of separation and analysis must necessarily precede any scientific investigation into the nature and sources of these Finnish runes.

I.

The main body and frame of the *Kalevala* is compounded of four cycles of folk-songs:—

- A. The Sampo-Songs.
- B. Songs relating to the national hero Väinämöinen which do not belong to the Sampo-cycle.
- C. The Songs of Lemminkäinen or Ahti.
- D. The Songs of Kullervo.

A. The groundnote of the poem is of course the story of the Quest and Rape of Sampo, the most complete version of which is known as the Archangel Sampo-Song. The incidents of this Archangel song, which belongs to the "Jason" type of story, occur in no fewer than eight

¹ See Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 241 seq. (English translation).

different runes of the *Kalevala*.¹ It was collected at Wuoninen, a village in the district of Wuokkiniemi, two or three miles from the frontier of Finland, and was first taken down in the year 1825 by Sjögren, and again in 1833 by Lönnrot from the same folk-singer, one Ontrei, a man whose family came from Finland, and who died in 1856, aged 75. The text given by Professor Comparetti in his work on the *Kalevala*, and taken from a still unpublished volume edited by the late Professor J. Krohn and Dr. Borenius, is formed from a comparison of the two manuscripts.

The Archangel Sampo-Song.

This Sampo-Song, with an incongruity very characteristic of savage myth, opens before the creation of the world.

A little bow-backed Lapp, in pursuance of an old grudge, takes his bow and shoots the old wizard Väinämöinen, who falls into the sea and lies there tumbling to and fro for seven summers. At last he lifts his knee out of the water and grass begins to grow upon it. A little goose, seeing the grass, scrapes a nest there and lays seven eggs. Presently, however, the warmth created by the hatching of the eggs causes Väinämöinen's knee to burn, so he pulls it away, whereupon the eggs roll off and are broken.

¹ The incidents correspond thus :—

<i>Kalevala.</i>	Archangel Sampo-Song.
Rune 6. The Lapp shoots Väinämöinen. V. falls into the sea, and commences the work of creation.	1-17
„ 1. Creation Song.	18-66
„ 7. V. reaches Pohjola, and is asked to manufacture Sampo.	67-158
„ 10. V. sends Ilmarinen to Pohjola, who manufactures Sampo and returns.	159-245
„ 38. Benefits of Sampo.	246-256
„ 39. V. and his companions go to fetch Sampo.	257-290
„ 42. Rape of Sampo.	291-349
„ 43. Pursuit of the Robbers.	350-435

Then the old wizard said :

" That which is the lower half of the egg,
 Let that become the lower half of the world :
 That which is the upper half of the egg,
 Let that become the heaven above :
 That which is the red part of the egg,
 Let that shine as the sun
 In the highest firmament :
 That which is the white of the egg,
 Let that glimmer as the moon
 In the highest firmament :
 What are bits of bone in the egg,
 Let them become stars in the sky."

After wallowing in the trough of the sea, helpless as a fir-tree's trunk, for another eight years, Väinämöinen is at last carried by the sea-winds towards the coasts of dark Pohjola, which is also called Manala, the land of Mana, the God of Death,

" The country without priests,
 The unbaptized land."¹

There the witch of Pohjola, "Pohja's harlot mistress," is engaged in her domestic duties when she hears a cry from the sea.

" That cry is not the crying of children,"

she says,

" It is not the crying of women,
 It is the cry of a bearded man,
 A bearded chin is making moan."

So she takes a boat and rowing out to sea rescues the old wizard.

" She fed the man full,
 She let the man drink his fill,
 She made him sit down in the stern of the boat,
 She herself rowed to Pohja.

¹ This curious anachronism is explained thus. The lines are taken from the mediaeval ballad of Bishop Henry's death (*Kantelstar*, pt. iii., song 28, lines 23-24), and were appropriated by the singers of the Archangel Sampo-Song, and fixed into their tunes quite regardless of the "gaulies."

Then she said, when they arrived,
When they came to Pohja :—
‘ Now old Väinämöinen,
If you can forge Sampo,
If you can paint the lid with many colours,
With two bones of a lamb,
With three barleycorns,
Yea, with the half of these—
Then you shall have my daughter for reward.’ ”

The old wizard tells her that he is unable himself to forge Sampo, but he offers to go away and bring from his own country the great smith Ilmarinen, “he who wrought the heavens and hammered out the canopy of air in such wise that you cannot perceive any marks of the hammer.” The witch agrees to this, and gives him a fine boat, in which he sails home driven by magic.

Upon his return to his own country¹ Väinämöinen began to sing, and by his incantations conjured up a fir-tree with a golden top, and in the top a marten with a golden breast. Then he went to Ilmarinen and sang to him :

“ Ho ! Smith Ilmarinen !
There is a girl in Pohjola,
A maiden in a cold village,
The pride of earth, the glory of the sea ;
Half the land of Pohja sings her praises,
The young gallants of Suomi yearn for her.
Through her flesh you can see the bones,
Through her bones you can see the marrow.²
If you can forge Sampo,
If you can paint the lid with many colours
With two bones of a lamb,
With three barleycorns,
Yea, with the half of these—
Then you shall have the maiden for reward !”

¹ This phrase, “omille maalle,” seems to recur in Finnish runes with the same pathetic insistence as the “ἰνέ τερπός γῆνας” of the Greek *Odyssey*.

² This description is what conveyancing lawyers call “common form” in Finnish runes. It also occurs as a poetical formula in some of the *Märchen*.

Ilmarinen distrusts him and refuses to go. Thereupon the old wizard tells him to go and look at the magic fir-tree which he has conjured up and which reaches to heaven. He bids him climb the tree and catch the marten with the golden breast. So the smith climbed the tree, "to the top, to the very top, to heaven." And when he was there Väinämöinen raised a violent storm which blew the smith from the top of the tree straight to Pohjola. There he married the witch's daughter and forged Sampo.

After a short time he returns home to his own country and proposes to Väinämöinen that they should return together to Pohjola for the purpose of stealing Sampo.

"Ho! old Väinämöinen!"

he says,

" Since Sampo is in Pohjola,
And the lid is painted with many colours,
There is ploughing there, and sowing,
Everything there flourishes.
But Sampo is imprisoned,
Under nine locks,
Its roots are rooted
Nine fathoms deep."

Väinämöinen agrees to his proposal and the two heroes start together for dark Pohjola. And when they came to the Isle of Fog they saw Water-Liito standing on a headland, and at his request they allowed him to accompany them.

When they reached Pohjola the old wizard began to sing and put to sleep the whole of that wicked land where Sampo was imprisoned. When he came to the nine locks he smeared them over with butter and swines' fat, transformed himself into a water-snake, and slid through the locks until he reached the place where Sampo lay rooted nine fathoms deep.

"He pushed Sampo with his chest.
Tried to move Sampo with his arms,
Still Sampo did not stir,
Hundred-horns did not move.

Then Water-Liito, Master Laito,
Took an ox from Pohjola,
A plough from the tilled fields,
And ploughed therewith the roots of Sampo.
He made Sampo stir,
He made Hundred-horns move."

So they succeeded at last in dragging away the magic treasure, which they placed in their ship and sailed away home.

Ilmarinen wonders why the old Master-singer does not sing for joy at their success, but Väinämöinen replies that it will be time enough to sing when they reach their own doors. He sends the smith up the mast and bids him look back towards the shores of Pohja. At first he declares he can see nothing but hawks and eagles, but presently he sings out :

" Now a ship is coming from Pohja,
A boat with a hundred rowlocks beats the water,
There are a hundred men rowing
A thousand at the oar-handles."

The fact is that the old witch and her people have been awakened in the following manner :

" An ant, a black flying ant,
A two-jointed Kaleva,¹
Squirted on the crane's claws :
The crane raised a cry,
It made suddenly an angry shriek.
Lempo expected it was his cow,
Piru expected it was Long-tail ;
Pohjola was roused,
The wicked land awoke."

By means of flint and tinder Väinämöinen created a barrier of rocks between the two boats, upon which the pursuers suffered shipwreck. Then the old witch, who was among the pursuers, transformed herself into a bird, and flew up

¹ *Kaleva*, the giant hero, the eponym of *Kalevala*, "the land of *Kaleva*." The name appears to be applied to the little ant ironically.

and perched on the mast-head of Väinämöinen's ship. The wizard seizes the rudder and tries to break her claws, but cannot succeed in destroying the little toe. So he proposes that Sampo shall be divided between them. The witch refuses, and there is an angry debate between them, Väinämöinen dilating upon the virtues of Sampo, and the witch threatening to destroy by her magic arts all the benefits which Sampo confers. The fragment, which contains 435 lines, ends abruptly by the hero defying the witch to do her worst.

As this Sampo-Song and the Creation Myth with which it is connected are of peculiar interest, it may be useful to add an analysis of the variants given by Professor J. Krohn in his *Kalevalan Toisinnot*¹

Variants of Creation Song.

(1) Väinämöinen after the Creation goes to Pohja (as in the Archangel Song) or elsewhere. (Four variants, Nos. 1-4.)

(2) The Attack of the Lapp on Väinämöinen mixed with the Creation Song (as in the Archangel Song), but V. goes nowhere afterwards. (Fifty-three variants, Nos. 5-58.)

(α) Fragmentary forms from E. Österbotten (the most northerly province of Finland), where the song has nearly died out. (Eight variants, Nos. 5-12.)

(β) Full and clear type of the story from Finnish N. Karelia, north of Lake Lagoda. (Forty-five variants, Nos. 13-58.)

The Lapp shoots V., who falls into the sea. Then a bird builds a copper nest on V.'s knee and lays a golden egg. The knee becoming warm, V. moves it, and upsets the egg, which is broken into six fragments. From the upper half of the

¹ Vol. i. Helsingfors, 1888.

egg he creates the sky, from the lower half the earth, &c., &c., as in the Archangel Song.

In twenty variants the bird is a wild duck "sotka" (*Fuligula clangula*). In two it is a "sorsa" (*Anas boschas*), in two an eagle, in others "haapana" (*Anas penelope*) hornet, "alli" (*Fuligula glacialis*) "telkkä" (*Fuligula cristata*). In the South the bird is always a swallow.

(3) Original form of the myth; in which the Creation Song is *not* mixed up with the Attack of the Lapp. (From the South of Finnish Karelia, Esthonia, &c. (Seventy-one variants, Nos. 59-130.)

(a) Miscellaneous fragments of the Creation Song containing only the Building of the Swallow's Nest.

A swallow flies about all a summer's day seeking for a spot where she may hatch her young. At last she sees a ship on the sea, and perching on the mast, lays a golden egg in a copper nest. A storm arises, the ship heels over, and the egg rolls into the sea. (Thirteen variants, Nos. 59-71.)

(β) Shows a form in which the myth of the Creation of the World has been resolved into a myth of the Creation of *Sea-dogs* or Fishes, which spring from the upset egg. (Six variants, Nos. 72-77.)

(γ) Instead of the creation of the whole world these variants give the creation of an island only from the upset egg. Out of the island grows a fresh grass-plot, and from the grass-plot a beautiful maiden. She is courted by all, but in vain. At last comes Thomas of the Grass (*Nurmi-Thomas*, i.e. Death), who carries her off in his sledge, which travels so fast that all the fields tremble. (Fifty-two variants, Nos. 78-130.)

This tale is given in one of the folksongs (*Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 1), a curious relic of antiquity.

(4) These fragments contain the creation of the island

and the maiden, but there is no courtship, and they end differently. (Fifteen variants, Nos. 131-145.)

(5) Creation of island, but not of maiden. (Nine variants, Nos. 146-154.)

(6) The beginning is the same as before, but the end is more archaic and mythical. The egg that falls from the ship becomes the sun, moon, and stars. (Seven variants, Nos. 155-161.)

(7) The egg is not laid on a ship, but on land (an island, grass-plot, shrub). A storm arises and the egg is rolled into the sea. The swallow begs a smith to make her an iron rake, with which she rakes up the egg. Then from the yellow part the moon is made, from the white the sun, from the remainder the stars. (Fifty-nine variants, Nos. 162-221.)

Variants of the Sampo-Rape.

Krohn gives 103 variants (Nos. 222-325), the most complete of which, containing 308 lines, was found by Ahlquist in 1846 in the parish of Ilamants (north of Lake Lagoda). It agrees pretty closely with the Archangel Song, the main differences being the following:

- (i.) The third companion is named Joukamoinen.
- (ii.) After they have left Pohjola Joukamoinen asks Väinämöinen to sing a song of triumph. At first V. refuses, but finally allows himself to be persuaded, and sings so that all the cliffs resound, whereupon the ant bites the crane, and so on.
- (iii.) When the witch perches on the mast Väinämöinen strikes off all her claws except the *Nameless Claw*.¹ With this claw she seizes V.'s boat and lifts it into the air. At V.'s command the boat sinks again.

The nameless finger is the little finger, with which Väinämöinen breaks from his mother's womb. See Jacob Grimm's *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 97.

It appears that a fog is then conjured up by the witch,
which V. disperses with a crack of his whip.

One of the variants is peculiarly interesting, from the fact of its having been collected at Wermland in Sweden, from the descendants of a Finnish colony, who migrated thither from North Tavastland about the year 1600, and who have kept the leading features of the story almost entire.

Three variants (Nos. 235-237) contain only the ant and crane episode.

No. 238 contains only the reefmaking with flint and tinder.

The rest of the fragments are more or less mixed up with other sagas and songs.

B. Songs of Väinämöinen not belonging to the Sampo Cycle.¹

- (1) *The Birth of Väinämöinen.*
- (2) *The Rival Singers.*
- (3) *The Rival Suitors.*
- (4) *The Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee.*
- (5) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Vipunen.*
- (6) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Deathland.*
- (7) *The Passing of Väinämöinen.*

(1) In the first *Kalevala* (1835) Väinämöinen is the creator of the world in accordance with the general tradition, but in the second edition (1849) the creation is ascribed to *Kave Luonnatar* or *Ilmotar*, the Nature- or Air-goddess, who in *Kalevala*, xvii. 291 sqq., is described as

“Kave, old wife, daughter of Nature,
Kave, golden fair,
Kave, the oldest of women.”

¹ Some of these songs and of the romances mentioned on p. 340 are sometimes found in conjunction with Sampo-Songs, but appear nevertheless to have an independent origin.

The necessity for this alteration arose from Lönnrot's wish to include the folk-song of *Väinämöinen's Birth*, which he had collected in Finnish Karelia. In this song the mother of Väinämöinen is not named Luonnatar or Ilmotar, but she is so named in some magic-songs, and Lönnrot doubtless thought that the creation might more appropriately be ascribed to the Nature- or Air-goddess than to any of the persons named in different versions of the song as Väinämöinen's mother (the maiden Iro, the maiden of Pohjola, &c.) The circumstances of the birth are those which usually attend the advent of supernatural heroes.¹

(2) *The Rival Singers* relates the famous contest in songs of magic between the Finnish Apollo and a Lapland Marsyas, named Joukahainen. The former punishes his presumptuous rival, and only releases him from enchantment upon being promised the hand of the Lapp's sister in marriage. By giving to this sister the name of *Aino*, and by giving to the suitor of Aino the name of *Väinämöinen*, Lönnrot has connected this song with the celebrated *Rune of Aino*, but they are in reality totally distinct poems.²

(3) *The Rival Suitors*. The reader will have noticed that in the Archangel Sampo-Song the daughter of Pohjola is offered as a reward for the forging of Sampo. When Ilmarinen goes to forge it, she is married to him, but nothing is said of the rival courtship of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen which occurs in the *Kalevala*. The maiden there chooses Ilmarinen, not because he has forged Sampo but because he is the younger, and (having washed his face with magic

¹ Cf. the American Hero-Myth given by Brinton, *American Hero-Myths* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 54.

² In seven variants Joukahainen's sister is named *Anni*, but in most versions she is called "ainoa sisären," which does not mean his "Sister Aino," but his "dear sister." Ninety variants of the song are given in Krohn's *Kalevalan Toisinnost* (Helsingfors, 1888), vol. i., numbers 340-430, pp. 118-157.

soap, through the kind forethought of his sister) the more beautiful of the two. This tale of the *Rival Suitors* is frequently found united to the Sampo and other tales, but it is generally told as an independent story, and does not end with the betrothal, but goes on to relate the subsequent home-faring, running up into the incidents of *The Golden Bride* and *The Wooing of the Son of Kojo*. The folk-tale of "Ilmarinen's Courtship"¹ is a sample of the manner in which all these incidents were pieced together.

(4) The tale of the *Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee* contains many archaic features. The story runs that in building a boat Väinämöinen cuts his knee, and cannot stanch the blood, which pours out in so large a stream that it threatens to drown the world. After some fruitless inquiries, the hero at last finds an old man to whom he sings the magic song of the *Origin of Iron*.² The old man having learnt this *Origin*, makes a long incantation abusing iron for doing so much mischief, and finally heals the wound.

(5) A more interesting tale is that which relates Väinämöinen's *Journey to Vipunen*. This old giant is full of the wisdom of the Old World, and Väinämöinen, having lost three words of magic without which he is unable to finish a boat that he is making, goes to Vipunen to obtain them.³ The way lies over the points of needles, the edges of swords, and the edges of axes, but the smith Ilmarinen forges magic shoes which enable Väinämöinen to make the journey. The giant is a mountain of earth with a fir-tree growing out of his forehead. Väinämöinen enters his mouth, and

¹ Schreck, *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. 3.

² This *Kaudan synty*, which is given in the *Kalevala*, xi. 39-266, corresponds almost exactly with the version in the *Loitsurunoja* 32 (a), p. 313 sqq. The making of the salve (xi. 425-488) corresponds with the *Voiteen synty* (origin of salves) given in the *Loitsurunoja*, 50 (a), pp. 343-4.

³ This beginning of Rune xvi. corresponds with the magic song *Veneen synty*, "Origin of the Boat." *Loitsurunoja*, p. 341.

taking up his abode in the giant's stomach, sets up an anvil there and works at it so persistently and causes Vipunen such discomfort, that he is at last induced to tell the three words of magic.

A similar tale is told about the smith Ilmarinen being swallowed by *Ukko Untamoinen*, "Old Father Sleeper," another ancient nature-giant of the same kind as Vipunen.¹ He likewise sets up a smithy inside the giant, and forges a bird which pecks a hole in his side.² It looks, indeed, as if the story had been told originally of Ilmarinen, as we hear nowhere else of the great singer doing smith's work; and indeed, in the Western versions of the tale, the hero who goes to Vipunen is sometimes called Ilmarinen.³

(6) It is an essential feature in every national epic that the hero should descend into the Shades; and although the descent into Vipunen's belly is actually a visit to the underworld, Lönnrot has also inserted in the *Kalevala* part of a magic song concerning the *Origin of Beer*, in which a similar episode occurs. The beer requires a singer, as in the 25th rune of the *Kalevala*. Väinämöinen resolves to go and be that singer, but on the way he breaks his sledge, and wanting a gimlet to mend it, goes off to find one in the kingdom of Tuoni, the God of Death. The incidents of his journey are common to most folktales of this type. There is the difficulty of the living man's admission, the gate guarded by serpents and a savage watch-dog, the

¹ The prolific race of giants appears to have sprung from three main roots. (i.) There are certain mythical giants, who represent features of the inorganic world, the sun, the earth, mountains, or, as Vipunen, the grave and underworld of the dead (*Orci fauces*). (ii.) There are giants, like the Indian Râkshashas, who appear to preserve the memory of those gigantic beasts and flying serpents which struck terror into the heart of early man. (iii.) And other giants, like the Cyclops, seem to represent magnified aboriginal tribes of men.

² Schreck, *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. 3. In the Cossack story of *Ivan Golik* (Bain, p. 264), Ivan, swallowed by a whale, smokes a pipe in its belly, and procures his liberty in a manner which may be readily conjectured.

³ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 115

offer of drink, which is refused, and a difficult escape in the form of a water-snake.

(7) The final *Passing of Väinämöinen*, which is very similar to the passing of other heroes, such as Hiawatha, the Gond hero Lingo, or our own Arthur, was collected in Russia, and I will only mention that in the oldest versions the hero is not named Väinämöinen, but Virokannas.

C. The songs of Lemminkäinen or Ahti.

The runes of Lemminkäinen or Ahti comprise a collection of myths and folk-tales, the latter containing the familiar incidents of the *Life-token*, the *Restoration of the Dead*, and the *Uninvited Guest*, the last of which was, I believe, imported, in part at least, from the Swedes.¹

The songs are :—

- (1) *The Wooing of Kyllikki.*
- (2) *The Death and Restoration of Lemminkäinen.*
- (3) *The Uninvited Guest.*
- (4) *Ahti's Sea-voyage.*

(1) *The Wooing of Kyllikki* is very rare, only two versions being known. The hero of this adventure is always named Ahti, which is properly the name of the Finnish sea-god. Lönnrot, indeed, calls the sea-god Ahto (a diminutive of Ahti), in order to distinguish him from the Ahti of these folk-songs, but there is no such distinction among the folk. The tale as given in the *Kalevala* is elaborated with many additions; for example, the courtship of the Sun and Moon at the beginning of Rune xi., which corresponds with the very popular ballad of *Suometar*,² and

¹ Cf. Lagus, *op. cit.*, p. 6. (I have not, however, had an opportunity of learning whether the story is the same as that of the popular Swedish ballad of that name.)

² *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 6. The story also occurs in the *Kalevipoeg*, and Mr Kirby informs us (*Hero of Estonia*, vol. i. p. xxvi.) that nearly 200 variants have been found in Estonia alone. A translation of one variant is given in Latham's *Nationalities of Europe*, vol. i. p. 142.

the capture of Kyllikki from the group of dancing maidens, which is taken from the "Sister Violated" story in the Kullervo cycle.¹

(2) *Lemminkäinen's Death and Restoration.*

This story, which comprises four runes of the *Kalevala* (xii.-xv.), is compounded of many different elements. The Chase of Hiisi's Elk (told in the *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 7, of Lyylikki) and the other marriage-tests are customary incidents related of many heroes and common to various songs. The real kernel of the tale is the beautiful picture of Mother's Love given in the 15th rune.

(3) The story of the *Uninvited Guest* and the fight with the Host of Pohjola (Runes xx., xxvi.-xxx.). In all the variants but one, the country to which the hero goes is not Pohjola but Päivölä, the land of the Sun, and his combat is with the son of that luminary. The story of the Isle of Refuge, inhabited, like the Island of Broken Hearts in Mr. Gilbert's play, by beautiful and lovesick maidens, was thought by M. Marmier to be one of the many memories of Greek tradition which have floated northward.²

(4) The *Journey of Ahti* and his companion Tiera to the frozen North (Rune xxx.) is one of the strangest and most disconnected parts of the *Kalevala*, and in the opinion of Professor Comparetti it represents some forgotten myth, traces of which may be seen in the *Loitsurunoja*.³ It is possible that the story may be a popular reminiscence of the Scandinavian myth of Thor, as the story of Lemminkäinen's death may be an echo of the myth of Balder, to which it corresponds with some closeness.

¹ See post, p. 339.

² Cf. the Blue Bird ballads. Kirby, *Hero of Estonia*, vol. ii. p. 292 sqq.

³ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Cf. *Loitsurunoja*, p. 299; *Pakkasen Synty*, "Origin of Sharp Frost," which corresponds with the *Kalevala*, Rune xxx. 213-240. See *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. p. 46.

First draft of the Lemminkäinen Runes.

In the *Kalevalan Esityöt* of A. Borenius and J. Krohn (Helsingfors, 1891, vol. i. p. 15 *sqq.*), is given Lönnrot's first draft of the Lemminkäinen runes composed in the year 1833 (the date 1883 given in Comparetti's book, p. 106, is an obvious misprint), and a comparison of this immature attempt with the Lemminkäinen runes of the present *Kalevala* throws considerable light upon Lönnrot's methods. This early draft comprises the bald outline of all Lemminkäinen's story with the exception of the voyage with Tiera,¹ yet it contains only 825 lines, whilst the corresponding nine runes of the *Kalevala* contain no fewer than 4,377 lines.

It begins with a description of the brewing of the festal beer by Osmotar. Then the red beer cries out for a singer, and Päivilä, the old one of the heavens (Päivilä tuo Ilman ukko), bids his servants invite the poor and wretched, the blind and the halt, all except Lemminkäinen the rude (ieto poika, lit. "dirty"), who is always so quarrelsome. When asked how they should recognise Lemminkäinen or Kaukomiel, he replies that they will recognise him by his bright piercing eyes and by his living on a headland.

Then follows a description of Ahti's or Kaukomiel's life on an island with his mother (*Kalevala*, xi. 2-20). He calls to his mother for his harness and his armour. "Where are you going, my son? are you going to the woods or to the sea? to chase the stag or to the great wars?" "Neither. I am going to the feast of Päivilä." His mother beseeches him not to go, and tells him at some length the various perils which he will encounter—a big serpent, a fiery waterfall, a bath of fire, a hundred stakes with a head suggestively empaled on every stake *except one*, a wolf and adders guarding the

¹ Lemminkäinen has of course nothing to do with the Sampo-Rape, although Lönnrot, in order to connect that with the Lemminkäinen runes, has given his name to the companion of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen in the place of Joukamoinen or Water-Liito.

gates of Päivölä, &c. Lemminkäinen pooh-poohs all her anxiety and declares such bugbears only daunt children. He sets off, encounters all the perils she has foretold, and overcomes them all. Then he meets very inconsistently the old one of Pohjola and his wife, and goes with them into the house of Pohjola. He complains of the food and especially of the beer, picks a quarrel with the son of Päivä, or Päivilä, and invites him to "come out." The combatant with the longest sword is to have the first blow. The son of Päivä declares that his sword is the longest, and on measuring swords it proved to be the longest by a single barleycorn. They fight, and Lemminkäinen lops off the head of the son of Päivä "like a fish's fin."

Then he goes home, and by his mother's advice seeks a temporary exile in some desert island, and there is a rather bare allusion to the Isle of Refuge with its hundreds and thousands of amiable girls.

Then follows a tale in which Lemminkäinen goes like Ilmarinen in the folktale to woo the daughter of Hiisi. He is set no fewer than six tasks, including the familiar catching of Hiisi's elk, wolf, and horse, ploughing a field of serpents, bathing in a bath-room of hot iron, &c. At last he is killed, his mother goes to seek him, takes a copper rake and rakes up fragments of his body, which she restores to life.

The literary genius which has breathed upon these rather dry bones, and by the judicious addition of picturesque incidents, descriptions, prayers, magic songs, and lyrics from other sources has restored them to the beauty and vigour of the *Kalevala* runes, is scarcely less wonderful than the restoring love of Lemminkäinen's mother.

D. With the cycle of songs relating to Kullervo, or the son of Kaleva, which has been mainly developed in Estonia, many English readers are already familiar from

the pages of Mr. Kirby's delightful book on *The Hero of Estonia*.¹

All the stories about Kullervo which appear in the *Kalevala* occur also in the Estonian epic, with the exception of the tale of the smith's wife.²

This group of stories has nothing at all in common with the rest of the *Kalevala* story, the only connecting link which Lönnrot could discern is that the smith whose wife was killed by Kullervo is in two only of many variants named Ilmarinen. The folk-songs of the son of Kaleva, the eponymous giant of *Kalevala*, out of which the Kullervo runes were fashioned, are the following:

- (1) *The Revenge of Kaleva's Son* (α) *against the smith's wife*, (β) *against Untamo*.
- (2) *The Sister Violated*.
- (3) *The Campaign*.
- (4) *The Messengers of Death*.

(1) (α) These songs tell how the son of Kaleva soon after his birth kicked his cradle to pieces, &c., was sold to a smith whose wife made him a herdboy and gave him a cake with a stone baked in it, whereupon he killed her as in the *Kalevala* rune.

(β) These songs tell of the family feud between the brothers Untamo and Kalervo; the former kills the latter, and Kalervo's son avenges his father's death.

(2) This is the same theme as that of the Scotch ballad of *The Bonny Hynd*. It also occurs in the *Kalevipoeg*.

In versions apparently most original the hero does not commit suicide but sacrifices a wild animal as an atonement for his crime.

(3) *The Campaign*, and (4) *The Messengers of Death* are complementary runes, the one being concerned with

¹ London (Nimmo), 1895. 2 vols.

² This tale, however, occurs in Estonia under the title "The Royal Herd-boy." See Kirby, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 279.

the answers given by the relatives of the hero (generally named *Anterus*), who is going to the wars, when he inquires how his death would affect them; the other contains the answers which the hero himself gives to the messengers informing him of the death of his relatives. It is the death of his wife, which affects him, for which Lönnrot substituted the death of his mother.

II.

Besides these four main cycles of song there are seven distinct romances or folk-tales woven into the fabric of the *Kalevala* :—

- (1) *The Tale of Aino.*
- (2) *The Fishing for the Mermaid.*
- (3) *The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air.*
- (4) *The Golden Bride.*
- (5) *The Wooing of the Son of Kojo.*
- (6) *The Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon.*
- (7) *The Story of the Virgin Maria.*

(1) *The Tale of Aino*, which forms one of the best known and most poetical episodes in the *Kalevala*, and which has recently found such beautiful expression in Finnish art,¹ is a pure romance with nothing epic about it.

A lovely maiden goes into the woods to gather twigs of birch for making bath-whisks. There she is met by the son of Kalev or Osmo—a purely generic term—who tells her harshly that he loves her and that she must be his. The girl answers proudly and goes home in tears. Her mother favours the proposed marriage, and bids her daughter go to the store closet and put on her best dress. Aino goes to the store closet, and finding there her mother's golden belt, she hangs herself with it. On discovering her daughter's

¹ In the painting of A. Gallén, the sculpture of J. Talkanen, and the drama of *Aino*, published in 1893 by Johan Henrik Erkko.

death the mother bewails her fate as in the *Kalevala*. The story which the mother tells her daughter in the *Kalevala* version about the gifts of gold and silver which she received in her girlhood from the daughters of the Sun and Moon appears to be part of a totally distinct song which is given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. iii., song 84).

(2) *The Fishing for the Mermaid*, or daughter of Vellamo, has no connection at all with the Aino rune, although Lönnrot has brought the stories into conjunction by the device of making Aino drown herself in the one tale, and identifying her with the mermaid in the other. The fisher is generally Väinämöinen, but the story is told of Lemminkäinen and others. The mermaid who is caught and afterwards escapes back to her own element is a divinity called "Vellamo's daughter," "Ahti's daughter," or simply "daughter of the waters."

(3) *The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air* is another charming fairy tale, complete in itself. The Daughter of the Air is a divine being of exquisite beauty who refuses to grant her love except to the man who can perform certain impossible tasks which she sets him. She is brought into the framework of the *Kalevala* story by being identified with the daughter of Pohjola's hostess, whom Väinämöinen goes to woo. But in none of the versions is she called the daughter of Pohjola. She is always spoken of as a divinity, sometimes as the daughter of Tapio, the Wood-god. In Estonia her wooers are the sons of the Moon, Sun and Stars.¹

¹ The marriage tests set by the Daughter of the Air are :

- (i.) To cut a hair from a horse's tail with a knife that has no edge ; to tie an egg with an invisible tie.
- (ii.) To peel a stone ; to cut a club from ice without making a splinter.
- (iii.) To build a boat out of chips from her spindle, and launch it without touching it.

The tests of Louhi for Lemminkäinen are :

- (i.) To catch the wild elk of Hiisi.

(4) The story of the man who made himself a golden image for a bride, which in the 37th rune of the *Kalevala* is attributed to Ilmarinen, and (5) the story (also assigned to Ilmarinen) of the carrying off of the daughter of Louhi, whom he changes into a sea-gull in the 38th rune, are both of them derived from Russian sources.¹ They form part of a cycle of songs, four of which are given in *Kanteletar*, relating to one Ivan, and are derived from the heroic songs of Iván Godinvóvich.² One of these songs is marked by an act of strange barbarity very alien from the spirit of Finnish poetry,³ and Lönnrot, while adopting most of the incidents, has judiciously omitted the most repulsive.

(6) The tale of the *Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon*, which is worked into the 49th rune of the *Kalevala* and part of the 47th, is told in *Kanteletar* of Turo, the son of Jumala (Heaven), who is identified by Krohn with the Scandinavian *Thor*.⁴ As this tale has never been translated from *Kanteletar*, so far as I know, I will give a short account of it. It seems to bear traces of Scandinavian influence.

(ii.) To bridle Hiiisi's horse of fire.

(iii.) To catch the black swan in the Death River.

(*Kalevala*, xiii. 23, xiv. 275 and 375.)

The tests of Louhi's daughter for Ilmarinen are :

(i.) To plough a field of serpents.

(ii.) To muzzle Tuoni's bear.

(iii.) To catch Tuoni's pike.

In all these tests Ilmarinen is helped by his bride-elect, but in the *Märchen* the tests are different (except the first), and he receives no help from his bride.

¹ These two stories are united in the folktale of Ilmarinen's courtship. Schreck, p. 3.

² Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 116. For the Russian song, see Hapgood's *Epic Songs of Russia* (1885), p. 124.

³ *Kanteletar*, pt. iii. songs 46-50. The incident referred to occurs in pt. iii., song 46, line 231 *sqq.* The first part of the incident is alluded to in the old Scottish ballad of "Gil Brenton," v. 18, and in many other old songs.

⁴ *Kanteletar*, pt. iii., song 2. See *ib.* p. 485.

The Tale of Turo.

"Once upon a time it happened that the sun was not in the sky, the moon was absent, and all the land was wrapped in darkness. The sun had been stolen by Esthonian conjurers, and the moon by German magicians. So the Son of Jumala, the bold and clever Turo, promised that he would go and seek for the missing lights. First of all he wound up a ball of sleep, then he took some beer in a pitcher, some honey in an ox's horn, placed a stone in his bosom and a comb in his shirt, and then started off on his horse.

"After he had ridden some distance he came upon a fallen tree which completely blocked the road. But he had only to pour out some beer and let a drop of honey fall upon the tree and it split in two at once, and left the way clear. By means of the same charm he defeated two other obstacles, a hill and a lake, which successively attempted to block the path, and then he saw before him the roofs of Hiisi, the dwellings of the Devil. So he went up and found a little barn standing there in which he saw three girls at work, and what should they be doing but polishing up the moon and cleaning the sun! He went up quietly to the door and threw his ball of sleep into the barn, and immediately the three girls fell into a deep slumber. So Turo carried off the sun and the moon. After he had gone a little way he heard a great noise behind him, and looking back he saw all the devils were on his track. Then he took the pebble from his bosom and threw it down, saying:

'Grow big, little pebble,
Grow big and mighty,
So that they cannot pass over you,
So that they cannot pass round you.'

And the pebble did as it was told, and became a great mountain which completely baffled the pursuers. However the next day he heard the devils howling

after him again. This time he threw down the comb, saying :

‘Grow into a forest of pines,
Pine-trees with trunks of iron,
So that they cannot pass over you,
Nor through you, nor by your side.’

And the comb did as it was told, and became a forest of pines through which the devils could not pass.¹ The next day Turo arrived in his own country bringing back the sun and moon.

“Then he fastened the sun on the topmost bough of a golden pine, and set up the moon on the top of a fir-tree. And the sun shone brightly on the topmost bough; it shone upon the happy, on the rich and joyful, but it did not shine upon the fatherless, the poor, and wretched. So he fixed it on the lowest bough instead, and it shone brightly on the lowest bough; it shone upon the fatherless, the poor, and wretched, but it did not shine upon the fortunate and happy. At last he fastened the sun upon the middle bough, and there it shone brightly. And now the sun shines equally upon poor and rich; it shines upon the gay and wealthy, and it shines upon the fatherless and those who are in want. The moon throws her gentle ray alike upon the door of the prosperous and the threshold of the mean.”

(7) *The Lay of the Virgin Marjatta* is a long poem, given in full in *Kanteletar* (pt. iii., song 20), containing the

¹ In the Russian story, *The Witch and the Sun's Sister* (Ralston, pp. 170 sqq.), Prince Ivan throws down a brush, which becomes a chain of mountains, and a comb, which becomes a forest. Also in the Russian tale of the *Baba Yaga* (Ralston, pp. 139 sqq.), the girl throws down a towel, which becomes a river, and a comb, which becomes a forest. See Ralston's remarks on this (*ib.* pp. 142-144). Also see Campbell's suggestion to explain the popularity of the comb in folk-tales (*Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. i. p. lxxi. sqq. ed. 1890). In *Saxo Grammaticus* (v. 165), the wonder-working Finns themselves when hard pressed cast down pebbles which became mountains, &c. See also Bain's *Cossack Tales*, p. 56.

incidents of the last rune in the *Kalevala*, which are set out by Mr. Sidney Hartland in his recent study of the Supernatural Birth.¹ I will only add that the name of the Virgin Maria or Marjatta appears to be derived from the berry which she eats (*marja*), and its resemblance to the name of the Virgin Mary is purely accidental, although it doubtless helped the process by which the Christian story became grafted on an old pagan legend.

III.

Amongst the ingredients of the *Kalevala*, scattered freely throughout the work, and placed into the mouths of the characters, or even in some cases absorbed into the narrative itself (as in the 48th rune), are many prayers, chants, religious formulas, and other magic songs and lyrics. They may be roughly classed as :—

- (1) Origins.
- (2) Charms.
- (3) Lyrics.

(1) More than fifty Songs of Origin are included in the *Kalevala*, to some of which I have already alluded. I give a list of the more important, with references to the original versions given in the *Loitsurunoja* and the English translations of them which have already appeared in *Folk-Lore*.

KALEVALA. LOITSURUNOJA. FOLK-LORE.				
	Rune and Lines.	Page.	Vol.	and Page.
α Origin of Iron .	vii. 177. ix., 29-258 . . .	313 . . .	ii.	31.
β Origin of Fire .	xlvii. 67-364. xlviii. . .	336 . . .	iv.	30.
γ Origin of Nine Diseases . .	xlv. 23-476	322 . . .	iv.	35.
δ Origin of Serpents .	xxvi. 695-758. Cf. also xv. 591, and xix. 78	285 . . .	i.	37.
ε Origin of Adders .	xxxiv. 93-100	285 . . .	i.	45.

¹ *The Legend of Perseus* (1894), vol. i. pp. 108-110.

ζ Origin of Beer	x. 143 <i>sqq.</i>	296	ii. 61.
* Origin of Frost	xxx. 213-298	299	iv. 46.
θ Origin of the Bear	xlvi. 355-458	278	i. 26.
ι Origin of Flax.	xlviii. 15 <i>sqq.</i>	291	i. 337.
* Origin of Salves	ix. 425 <i>sqq.</i>	343	iv. 42.
λ Origin of Water-snakes	xv. 591-602		
μ Origin of Diseases caused by Magic	xvii. 185-238		
ν Origin of Uncertain Ills	xvii. 167-244		

The second rune, describing the sowing of the primal earth by Väinämöinen with the aid of Pellervoineen or Sampsa and other dwarfs, is entirely composed of three magic songs used in connection with agriculture. The first song, the *Planting and Sowing of the Earth*, is a Song of Origin, employed for the purpose of exorcising wood in order to cure a wound caused by any wooden instrument. (*See Loitsurunoja*, p. 310, "Puiden Synty.")

The second song, the *Great Oak*, is very widespread, and corresponds with the Song of the Origin of Stich, four versions of which are given in the *Loitsurunoja*. (*See Loitsurunoja*, pp. 301-309, "Pistoksen Synty.")

The third song, the *Planting of the Barley*, has been sung for many centuries at a purely heathen spring festival, and appears to be one of the numerous songs of the Origin of Beer.¹ It is stated by Le Duc that "les vieux Finnois prononcent aujourd'hui cette invocation en ensemencant leurs champs."²

(2) Charms and magic formulas occupy a large space in the *Kalevala*.

The subjoined list is not by any means exhaustive.

Charm of Menace (to terrify the enemy)	xvii. 485-494.
Charm of Vengeance (to terrify the enemy)	xvii. 317-346.

¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

² *Le Kalevala traduit par L. Le Duc* (New edition, Paris, 1879), p. 17, note.

Charm of Boasting (to give the magician confidence)	xii. 144-184.
Charm of Inspiration	xvii. 185-238.
Charm of Exorcising (to 'conjure away evils wrought by witchcraft)	xvii. 397-446.
Charm of Posting (to send the evil spirit on its way <i>post-haste</i>)	xvii. 447-474.
Charm of Binding (to fix the evil spirit to the spot)	xvii. 433-446.
Charm of Defence	xii. 255-296, xxx. 447-480, xliii. 401-434.
Charm to invoke Aid	xvii. 257-308, ix. 507-516.
Charm for Aid in Sickness	xvii. 179-184.
Charm for Sudden Attacks of Pain	xvii. 495-504.
Charm to assuage Pains	xlv. 259-312, xvii. 245-256.
Charm for Healing	xlv. 197-354.
Charm for the Veins	xv. 315-376.
Charm for Stanching Blood	ix. 343-416.
Charm for Fire-burns	xlvi. 301-366.
Charm for Child-bearing	xlv. 117-146.
Charm for Fishing	xlviii. 123-150.
Charm for Bear-hunting	xlvi. 47-144.
Charm for bringing Cattle Home	xxxii. 273-314.
Charm for Cattle	xxxii. 37-542.
Charm for Starting	xvii. 475-484.
Charm for bringing Home	xvii. 309-396.
Charm for Milking	xxxii. 141-228.
Charm for Rowing	xlii. 197-216.
Charm for Sowing	ii. 296-330.
Charm for quieting Snakes	xxvi. 633-670.
Charm for driving Serpents aside	xix. 78-90.
Charm for Dogs	xxii. 373-378.
Charm for Bees	xv. 393-534, xx 345-380,
Charm for Waterfalls	xl. 23-82.
Charm for Baths	xlv. 211-228.
Charm for Divination	lxix. 81-104.
Charm for Fire	xlvi. i-372.
Charm for Sacrifice	xiv. 253-264.
Charm of Abuse for Iron	ix. 271-342.
Charm of Protection against Bears	xxxii. 315-542.
Charm for Woodmen (hunters)	xiv. 23-264.
Charm for Soldiers	xliii. 191-206.
Charm for Seafarers	xviii. 29-40.

(3) The most important of the remaining lyrical formulas included in the *Kalevala* are the following:

(a) The Marriage Songs, which occupy four runes (xxii.-xxv.).

(b) The two versions of the Origin of the Harp, or Kantele.

(c) The Introductory and Closing Songs.

(a) Some of the Marriage Songs are given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. i. songs 126-169), but the collection in the *Kalevala* is more complete. It should be mentioned that the description of the marriage feast itself belongs to the Lemminkäinen runes (Journey to Päivölä). The group of marriage formulas given in the *Kalevala* contains the *Chant of Tears* (xxii. 1-448) and the *Chant of Consolation* (xxii. 449-522), both addressed to the bride before her marriage; the *Chant of Guidance* for the bride (xxiii. 1-478); the *Chants of a Daughter-in-law* (xxiii. 479-850), setting forth at length all the drawbacks and inconveniences of married life; the song of *Warning to the Bridegroom* (xxiv. 1-296); the *Bride's Farewell* (xxiv. 301-462); and the *Songs of Welcome* (xxv. 41-242, 281-382) and of *Badinage* (xxv. 245-266), sung upon the bride's arrival at her husband's house.

(b) The Origin of the Harp, or Kantele, is not a magic song, like the other "Origins," but a pure lyric, which is often sung in connection with the Sampo and other songs, but appears to have been originally a distinct poem. Two versions are given in the *Kalevala*,—

(1) The *Northern* version, in which the Kantele is made of the bones of a pike's head (xl. 205-342, xli.).

(2) The *Southern* version, in which it is made of birch-wood (xliv.).

In order to introduce this second version Lönnrot invented

the episode in xlvi. 469-502, where the first Kantele is washed overboard in a storm and lost at sea.¹

(c) Lönnrot had no difficulty in composing opening and closing lyrics out of the many favourite folk-songs whose theme is the praise of song. The best part of the Introduction (i. 51-90) is taken from a very beautiful poem given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. ii., song 280) called "The School of Song"; and the lines in the closing lyric, describing the singer's early life in his mother's cottage (l. 593-608), are taken from a song given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. i., song 2) called "Forgive me, gentles!"

There are also a number of minor lyrics introduced at various points; *ex. gr.* the song sung by Väinämöinen in xlvi. 385, when sowing the fragments of Sampo, a song composed of different popular lyrics none of which have anything to do with Sampo. There are also some *Gnomes* introduced, generally at the end of an episode, and usually attributed to Väinämöinen, who sums up the moral situation after the manner of the chorus in Greek tragedies. See the *Kanteletar*, pt. i. song 90, where Lönnrot has collected a number of these proverbs under the title "Väinämöinen's Sayings."

¹ The best "Origin" of the Finnish Kantele is that given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. i., song 1), in a little lyric which reminds one of Blake. It may be rendered thus :

" 'Tis false, that idle story told
About our harp of plaintive tones,
That Väinämöinen, wizard old,
Once formed it from a fish's bones.

" From Misery the harp is sprung,
Its frame was moulded by Distress ;
The strings by Sorrow's hands were strung,
And the pegs turned by Wretchedness.

" O never may it wake to glee,
Nor leave its woeful plaint unsung,
Since it was born from Misery,
And Sorrow's hands the strings have strung."

IV.

In conclusion, it must be added that there occur in the *Kalevala* a few verses which cannot be found in any existing folk-songs, and which were in all probability composed by Lönnrot himself. A list of these additions has been compiled by Krohn, and they are not very numerous. They were not inserted wilfully, but chiefly through the exigencies of the epic design which required connecting links between the different songs. Names are dealt with freely, as we have seen—though not more freely than by the folk-singers themselves—and incidents are freely transferred, but they are rarely manufactured. Two notable cases of actual invention are the loss of the first Kantele, and the spurious “Origin of Pearls,” which Lönnrot derived from the tears of Väinämöinen in Rune xli. Lönnrot’s favourite method of composition consisted in interpolating into the narrative a magic song, a lyric, or part of some other narrative. The introduction of magic songs and lyrics was, however, a custom of the folk-singers themselves. They did not actually sing them, we are told, like the rest of the runes, but occasionally paused in their singing and remarked: “Here follows such-and-such a magic song,”¹ or, “Here should follow the marriage songs which the women have handed down,”² after which they would immediately proceed with the narrative.

I have already mentioned several instances of the interpolation of part of one folk-story in the body of another; I will, however, give one more example to show how this process was sometimes employed for a purely artistic purpose.

The distinctly Homeric description of the little serving-maid who goes out early in the morning to perform her daily work, and is startled by hearing the cries of a stranger

¹ Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

² *Ib.*, p. 117.

on the sea-shore (vii. 133-168), is an interpolation (see the narrative in the Archangel Sampo-Song), and is taken from a poem given in the *Kanteletar* (pt. iii. song 130) called, "The Girl who laid a wager with the Sun."

We may conclude, however, that the alterations made by Lönnrot were as few and slight as was consistent with his design of welding the national songs into a continuous epic. "Upon the whole," says Comparetti, "the *Kalevala* is constructed of materials entirely supplied by the folk with the original verses."¹

I append a summary of the foregoing analysis.

SUMMARY.

I. Main Themes of the *Kalevala*.

A. The Sampo-Songs.

- The Archangel Sampo-Song.
- Variants of Creation Song.
- Variants of the Sampo-Rape.

B. Songs of Väinämöinen not belonging to the Sampo cycle.

- (1) *The Birth of Väinämöinen.*
- (2) *The Rival Singers.*
- (3) *The Rival Suitors.*
- (4) *The Wounding of Väinämöinen's Knee.*
- (5) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Vipunen.*
- (6) *Väinämöinen's Journey to Deathland.*
- (7) *The passing of Väinämöinen.*

C. The Songs of Lemminkäinen or Ahti.

- (1) *The Wooing of Kyllikki.*
- (2) *The Death and Restoration of Lemminkäinen.*

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

(3) *The Uninvited Guest and the Journey to Päivölä.*

(4) *Ahti's Sea Voyage.*

Lönnrot's first draft of the Lemminkäinen Runes.

D. The Songs of Kullervo.

(1) *The Revenge of Kaleva's Son.*

(a) *Against the Smith's Wife.*

(b) *Against Untamo.*

(2) *The Sister Violated.*

(3) *The Campaign.*

(4) *The Messengers of Death.*

II. Romances and other Folktales.

(1) *The Romance of Aino.*

(2) *The Fishing for the Mermaid.*

(3) *The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air.*

(4) *The Golden Bride.*

(5) *The Wooing of the Son of Kojo.*

(6) *The Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon.* The Tale of Turo, from the *Kanteletar*.

(7) *The Lay of the Virgin Marjatta.*

III. Magic Songs, &c.

(1) Origins.

(2) Charms and Magic Formulas.

(3) Lyrics.

(a) The Marriage Songs.

(b) The Origin of the Harp.

(c) The Introductory and Closing Songs.

IV. Additions apparently composed by Lönnrot himself.

DONALD BÁN AND THE BÓCAN.

BY W. A. CRAIGIE, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of June 19th, 1895.*)

THE following interesting Lochaber story is an abstract of two printed Gaelic versions, the first of which appeared in the *Gael*, vol. vi. p. 142 (1877), to which it was communicated by D. C. Macpherson, and the second in the *Glenbard Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, p. 297 ff. (1890). The latter was got from an old Lochaber tailor, whose grandfather had personal experience of the supernatural being which figures in it.

Rather more than a century ago there died in Lochaber a man named Donald Bán, son of Angus (Domhnall Bán mac Aonghais), but better known as Donald Bán of the Goblin (Domhnall Bán a' Bhócain), from his experiences with a Bócan,¹ or goblin, which were well known to all the district. Donald was the last of the the hunters of Mac-mhic-Raonuill, and belonged to the house of Keppoch, being according to some the son of Angus Odhar, son of Gilleasbuig of Keppoch. He lived at Mounessie and Inverlaire in Glenspean, and his wife was of the MacGregors of Rannoch.

"It was on the hill that Donald first met with the Bócan," but who the Bócan was no one ever knew, and Donald never told it, if he knew it himself. Of course there were good guesses at it. Some believed it to be a "gille" of Donald's, who was killed at Culloden. Donald himself was present at that battle, and in making his escape was wounded in the leg,

¹ Sometimes written *Bóchdan*; in either case the pronunciation is *Bóchkan*, and the hero's name is pronounced *Döll bپän a' vóchkin*. The name of the spirit apparently corresponds to the Manx *buggane*.

and so captured, but released after trial. One incident of his prison-time is mentioned which contains a curious touch: "While he was in prison he had a dream ; he saw himself, Alastair Mac Cholla, and Domhnall Mac Raonuill Mhóir drinking together. This Donald was the man of whom it was said that *he had two hearts*. He was taken prisoner at Falkirk, and executed at Carlisle." The reason for identifying the "gille" with the Bócan was that on one occasion he had given to a "thigger" (*fear faighe*¹) more than pleased his master, and in the quarrel that followed, the gille said, "I will be avenged for this, alive or dead."

Whatever he was, or whatever may have been his reasons the Bócan nearly ruined Donald by the mischief he did him. He destroyed all the food and injured the members of the household. The butter in particular was always dirtied by him. One time Ronald of Aberardair undertook to bring the butter clean to table, by holding his bonnet over it, and carrying his dirk in his hand, but it was dirtied all the same. At night they could get no sleep for stones and clods that came flying about; "the Bócan was throwing things out of the walls, and they would hear them rattling at the head of Donald's bed."² Mr. John Mór MacDougall, the clergyman, slept a night or two in the house, but the Bócan would not come while he was there. The tailor's grandfather, Angus mac Alister Bán, had a different experience. "Something seized his two big toes, and he could not get free any more than if he had been caught by the smith's tongs. He could not get moved. It was the Bócan, but he did nothing more to him." High and low were witnesses to the pranks which this spirit carried on, but not even Donald himself ever saw him in any shape whatever.

¹ This, like the Lowland *thigger*, Norse *Tigger*, denotes a poor man who asks assistance from his richer neighbour in the way of seed-corn, &c.

² For similar stone-throwing compare "Strange Pranks plaid by the Devil at Woodstock," and the "Devil of Glenluce, &c.," being Relations VI. and XI. in Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*.

So much did Donald suffer from his attacks that he finally decided to remove to another house, in hopes that the visitations would cease. He took everything with him except a harrow (*cliath chliata*), which he left at the side of the house, but before they had got far on the road the harrow was seen coming after them. "Stop, stop," said Donald, "if the harrow is coming after us we may as well go back again." So he returned, and made no further attempt to escape from the visitations. What the harrow had to do with it is left unexplained.

The Bócan had a particular spite against Donald's wife, the "Nic Ghriogair." The night he parted with Donald he went on the roof of the house, and cried, "Are you asleep, Donald Bán?" "Not just now," said Donald. "Put out that long grey tether, the MacGregor wife," said he. "I don't think I'll do it to-night," said Donald. "Come out yourself then, and leave your bonnet." The goodwife thought that he was outside, and whispered in Donald's ear as he was rising, "Won't you ask at him when the Prince will come?" Hardly were the words out of her mouth when the Bócan answered her, "Didn't you get enough of him before, you grey tether?"

The Rev. Mr. Sinclair's version gives a still more curious account of what took place at the Bócan's last visit. "The last night that the Bócan came he was saying that such and such other spirits were along with him. Donald's wife said to her husband, 'I should think that if they were along with him they would speak to us.' The Bócan answered, 'They are no more able to speak than the sole of your foot.' 'Come out here, Donald Bán,' said the Bócan. 'I will,' said Donald, 'and thanks be to the good Being that you have asked me.' Donald was going out, and taking his dirk along with him. 'Leave your dirk inside, Donald,' said the Bócan, 'and your knife (*sgian*) as well.' Donald went out, and he and the Bócan went through Acha-nan-Comhachan by night, and on through rivers and a birch-wood for about three miles

till they reached the stream of the Fert. When they got to this the Bócan showed him a hole where he had hid plough-irons while he was alive. While Donald was taking the plough-irons out of the hole the two eyes¹ of the Bócan were putting more fear on him than anything else he ever heard or saw. When he had got the irons, they went home to Mounessie, himself and the Bócan, and parted that night at the house of Donald Bán."

Donald had more connections with the supernatural world than this. A cousin of his mother was said to have been carried away by the fairies, and one night Donald saw him among them, dancing as hard as he could. He was also out hunting in the year of the great snow, and at nightfall saw a man on the back of a deer ascending a great rock. He heard the man saying, "Home, Donald Bán," and wisely took the advice, for that night there fell eleven feet of snow in the very place where he had intended to stay.

While Donald was troubled with his strange visitant, he composed a hymn which has been preserved by tradition. Though it gives but little information on the main point, it goes to prove the fact of the hauntings so far as proof can be asked for, and the following literal translation will show how Donald himself regarded the affair.

THE HYMN OF DONALD BÁN OF THE BÓCAN.

O God that createdst me so helpless,
Strengthen my belief and make it firm.
Command an angel to come from Paradise
And take up his abode in my dwelling,
To protect me from every trouble
That wicked folks are putting in my way ;
Jesus that didst suffer thy crucifixion,
Restrain their doings, and be with me thyself.

¹ Compare the "True Narrative of the Drummer of Tedworth," in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 71. "The exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great body with two red glowering or glaring eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappear'd."

Little wonder though I am thoughtful—
Always at the time when I go to bed
The stones and the clods will arise—
How could a saint get sleep there !
I am without peace or rest,
Without repose or sleep till the morning ;
O thou that art in the throne of grace,
Behold my treatment and be a guard to me.

Little wonder though I am troubled,
So many stories about me in every place,
Some that are unjust will be saying
“ It is all owing to himself, that affair.”
Judge not except as you know,
Though the Son of God were awaking you ;
No one knows if I have deserved more
Than a rich man that is without care.

Although I am in trouble at this time,
Verily, I shall be doubly repaid,
When the call comes to me from my Saviour
I shall receive mercy and new grace ;
I fear no more vexation
When I ascend to be with thy saints ;
O thou that sittest on the throne
Assist my speaking and accept my prayer.

O God, make me mindful
Night and day to be praying,
Seeking pardon richly
For what I have done, on my knees.
Stir with the Spirit of Truth
True repentance in my bosom,
That when thou dost send death to seek me,
Christ may take care of me.

Donald's troubles, although connected with a genuine Celtic goblin and presenting one or two peculiar features, are evidently of much the same class as those described in the narratives already mentioned in the foot-notes, and which have been heard of even down to our own day. Had there been any one at the time to write down all that was heard and seen, the story might have been much fuller, but

all the characteristic details of such occurrences are there. The apparent want of sufficient reason for the persecution, the manner of carrying it out by destroying property, injuring persons, and throwing things about, the impudent answers given by the spirit, and its displaying its tricks to all and sundry in broad day-light, are an exact parallel to the troubles of Gilbert Campbell in the story of the "Devil of Glènluce." How far self-deception or human mischief entered into these occurrences is a problem for the investigator of ghosts. In the case of a similar Icelandic story, narrated in 1750 by the Sheriff Hans Wium, who was an eye-witness to the reality of the events, there was a suspicion that they were brought about by a young man who was said to have learned ventriloquism abroad.¹ This might explain the conversations which the invisible one kept up with the sheriff and others, but can scarcely account for some of his other feats, such as throwing the door off its hinges into the room.

It is possible that such tales may be the historical descendants of the more impressive ghosts of antiquity. A figure like Glám in *Grettis Saga* is not after all far removed from the Bócan; their origin and behaviour are much the same, and a good many points of resemblance might be made out. In that case the later ones are very degenerate specimens; but there is something of mystery about Donald Bán's persecutor that makes him a rather superior member of his class.

¹ This is the explanation given in *Huld* (Reykjavík, 1893) part 3, p. 25. Wium's letter about the Hjaltastad fiend is also printed in Jón Arnason's collection, vol. i. pp. 309-311.

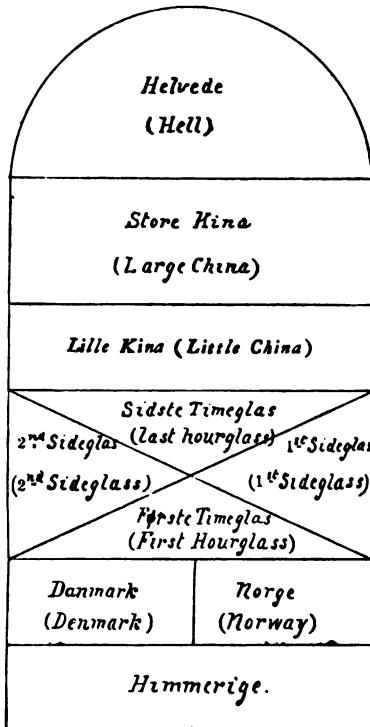
THE GAME OF HOPSCOTCH AS PLAYED IN DENMARK.

BY H. F. FEILBERG, PH. D.

(*Read at Meeting of June 19th, 1895.*)

Hopskok.

The name shows it must have been an emigrant from England. The stone is pushed out from room to room with the toe, the player hopping on one leg. By the cross and the line separating "Denmark" and "Norway," the player makes a turn. In the "first" and the "last Hour-glass" and in "Hell," he must stand on both legs before and after he has pushed the stone. If A throws into a wrong room, or makes a wrong turn, or the stone being pushed or thrown, remains lying on one of the drawn lines, or is pushed outside by one of the sides of the figures or the corners, B has his turn to play, and so on. If A can pass through all the Hopskok three times without making blunders, he must the fourth time "hop the stone backwards out," which I think means—hop backwards pushing with heel instead of toe.

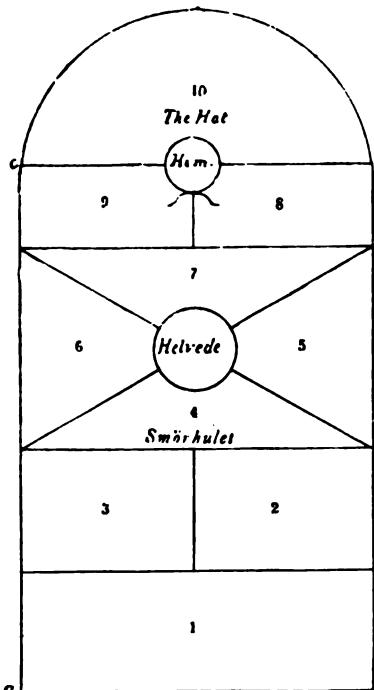


As played at Aarhus, Roskilde.
Copied after Dr. I. R. Hübertz, *Aktstykker vedk.* Aarhus (1845), II. 402.

Paradis.

A very common game, played by two persons, A and B. Each has a flat, round stone which he throws into the different rooms of the figure, beginning from 1. After the stone has been thrown into the right room A begins, hopping on one leg, and pushes it out over the bottom

line of the figure, the lines *ab* *cd* being forbidden. If he sins against the rules of the games, *viz.* :—1, pushes his stone out by another way than the one allowed, or 2, touches with his foot any of the lines of the figure, his turn will be out, and B begins playing, A continuing, when his turn will arrive, from the number he has attained. If his stone is thrown or pushed into "Hell," he must begin from number 1 anew; if he comes into "Himmerig," he advances at once three numbers more forward into the "Hat."



Him.=Himmerige.

"Hat," A must return through all the numbers 9—1.

Returning from the "Hat," A must pass through the different rooms:—

By three "fur," three "rør," three "nips," if I understand the description aright.

Having arrived into the

9, 8, 7 by a "fur" each, that is to say by three pushes.
The stone is pushed forward by a push ("fur") of the toe of the foot:—



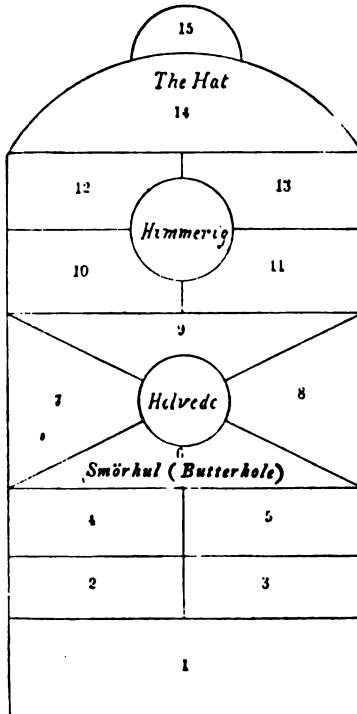
6, 5, 4 by a "rør" (touch) each. It is explained that you must push the stone standing on it:—

3, 2, 1 by a "nips" each. "Nips" may perhaps be explained as a light touch; the expression is scientifically used by the boys for the pushing movement produced by turning on the heel and pushing with the toe:



A, having duly got through all the rooms forwards and backwards, must hop three times through all the rooms of the figure without resting; if he succeed, he has won. If a stone gets outside the figure or is thrown into a wrong room A leaves off playing and B begins.

I have never used this play myself as a child, and can only give to-day the foregoing description, twenty years old, from Copenhagen. The obscurities I can't explain.



Copenhagen, twenty years ago, by an expert (Smörhul = butterhole).

Paradise, from the neighbourhood of Odense.

The player begins by placing himself at A with a flat stone in his hand. He throws it into the room No. 1, hops on one leg into the room, hopping the stone out again in the direction of A. In the same manner he proceeds to Nos. 2, 3, and so on. He loses his turn if the stone is thrown into a wrong room or remains on one of the lines, or he puts his foot on a line, or if the stone is pushed out in another direction than that of the Nos. 1 and 2. When the player has "hopped the stone out" from all the 9 rooms, he must "hoppe paradiset ud" (hop the paradise out), that is, he must on one leg hop from A into the "Hat," returning again to A, only putting his foot once (without stone I suppose) in each of the rooms, going from 1 to 4, 7, 9, 8, 6, 5, 3, 2.

A few notes I must add. There seem to be two different manners of playing :—

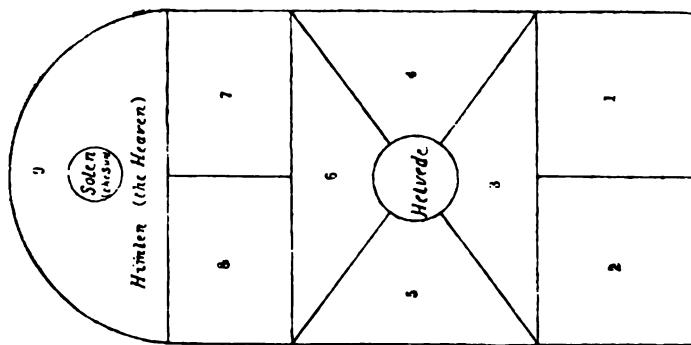
I. The stone is, from a point A at the bottom of the figure, thrown into each of the rooms successively, and again from each room by a more or less strong push, pushed out at the bottom of the figure.

II. The stone is thrown into the first room, and from that by the hopping player pushed into Nos. 2, 3, and so on, until he wins or loses his turn. Does he lose his turn in one of the rooms, say No. 8, he must, when his turn again comes, throw the stone from the bottom of the figure into No. 8, to begin there again. Where the diagonal lines are he is allowed to rest on both of his legs;¹ the same is applicable to the "Sun" figure. The game is little known in the country in Jutland; it is played there almost only in the towns. In Fyn and Salland it seems common in the country too, played equally by boys and girls.

¹ That is, one in 5 and the other in 4, or one in 6 and the other in 3.

Hopscotch in Denmark.

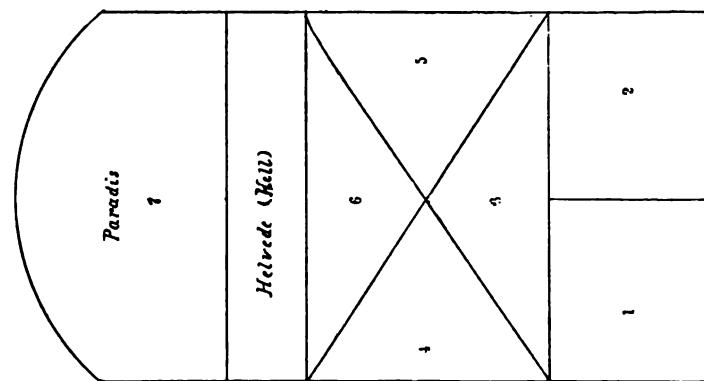
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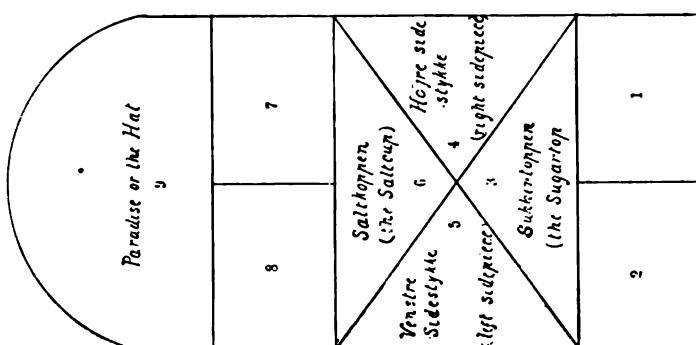
From Åebeltoft, East Jutland.

Nos. 1 and 2 are called forgaarden
(the forecourt).

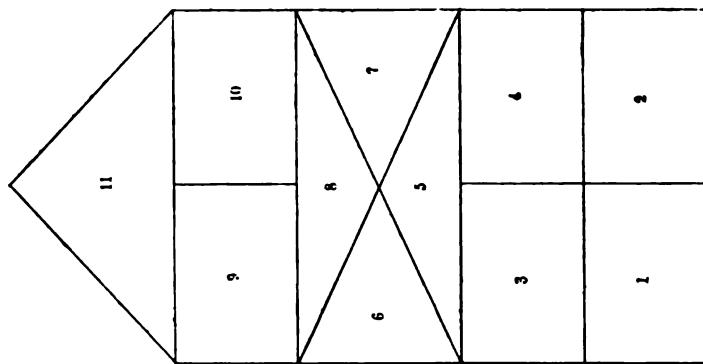
Nos. 7 and 8 are called skyerne (the
clouds).



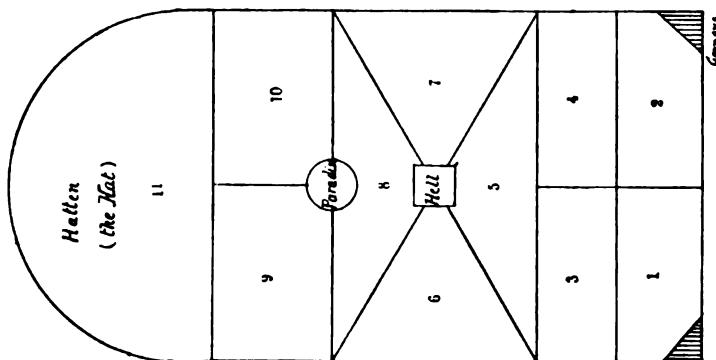
Paradis, drawn for me by a child at Askov.



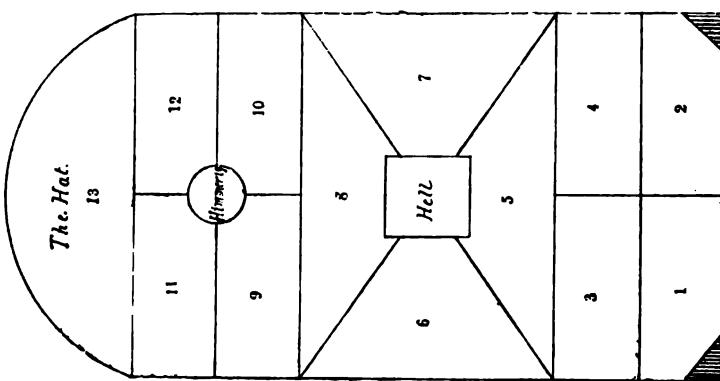
A
From the neighbourhood of Odense
Fyen.
Nos. 1 and 2 are called ruderne (the
window panes or diamonds).
Nos. 7 and 8 are called the H's.



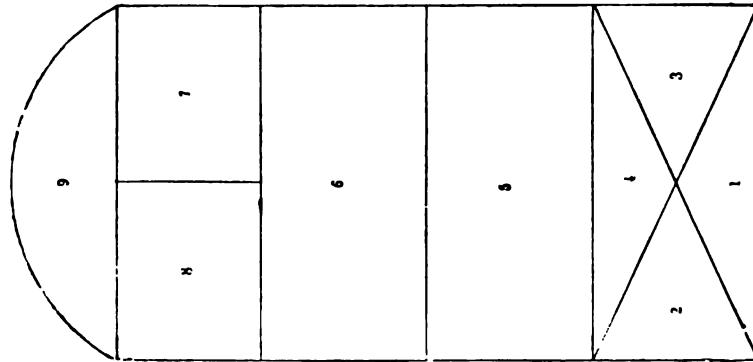
At høje til' paradis (to hop to paradise)
Fyn, Denmark.



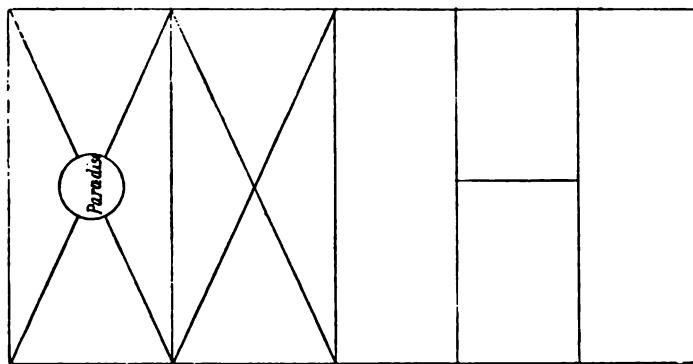
Paradis, Copenhagen, 1895 spring
Gennare



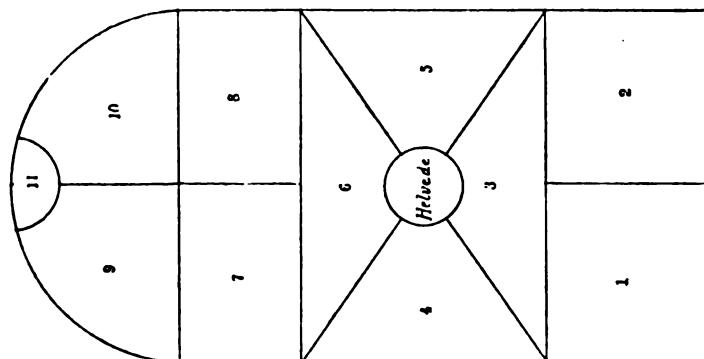
Paradis, Copenhagen, 1895, spring;
himmelrig=heaven.



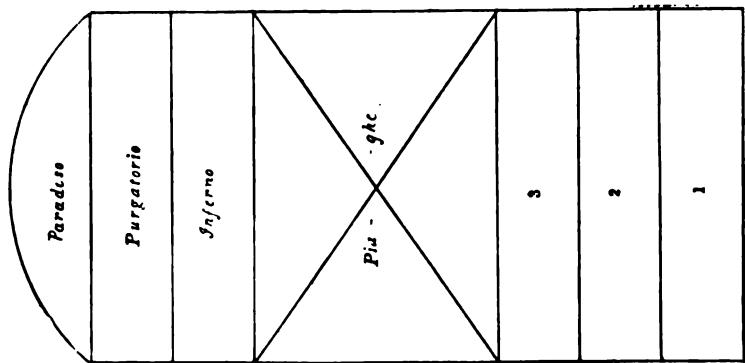
Mor's gyta (mother's pot), from Åbo,
Finland; "must be hopped with crossed
feet as reel is danced."



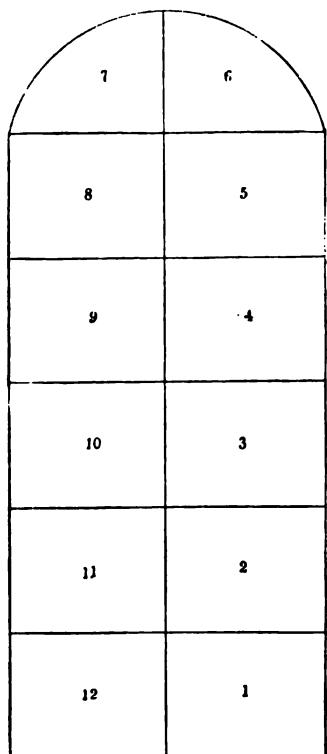
From Visby, Gotland [Gulland,
Sweden, where it is called *Hage*
perhaps in the sense of inclosure.]



Paradis, drawn for me by a young
person at Askov. It is called *maanen*
(the moon).



La Campana, from the Marches of Italy. A Giannandrea, in *Rivista di Lett pop.* (Rome, 1877), p. 280. Cf. Pitre, *Bibl. delle Trad. Pop. Siciliane*, vol. xiii. (*Giocchi Fanciullacci*), pp. 141 sqq., where three Sicilian variants and a



Røghætten = *Smoke-hat* (i.e. *Chimney-hood, Turncap*).

The game is called "hoppe i røghætte" (hop in the turn-cap). The stone is thrown from room to room, and with a sudden push by the toe pushed out by the way of No. 12-1, the player hopping on one leg. Having finished all the rooms, the stone is pushed from No. 1 to 2, to 3, and so on, through all the rooms, one by one, by the hopping player, until he comes out at No. 12. Treading on a line, or the stone by the push remaining on a line or coming out the wrong way, the turn is lost and another player begins.

From Åbeltoft, East Jutland.

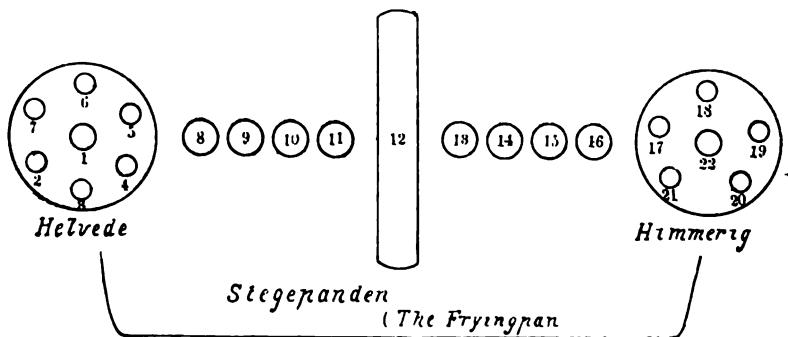
Himmerige of Helvede.



Two play. A clasp-knife is half-opened  the players, A and B, throw alternately. The object is that the knife thrown up in the air, falling, may remain standing on the point in the ground. The circles and holes are cut with a knife in the sward by the small herdboys. A begins by putting a small wooden stick into the central hole of Hell, saying :

“ I Helvedes graw
sætter a min staw,
guj læ mæ te Himmerig komm’ ! ”
(In the pit of Hell
I put my stick,
God let me to Heaven come !)

Every throw or cast that is lucky wins a point, as the points are numbered on the drawing. In the pan (12) the stick always was put lengthwise, and it was deemed an uncommonly hard case to stay there for a long time, because the person staying there was supposed to be fried dreadfully. Who first reaches the centre hole of heaven wins.



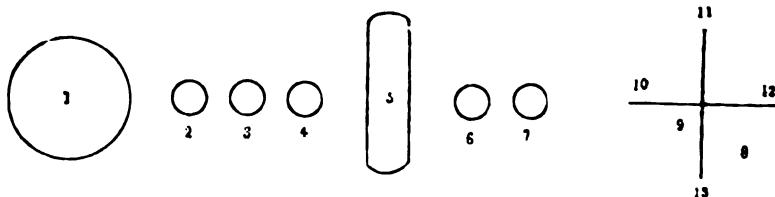
The distance about 1-1½ yards.

Himmerig or Helvede. N. Jutland.

Kaste Lykke til Himmerige.

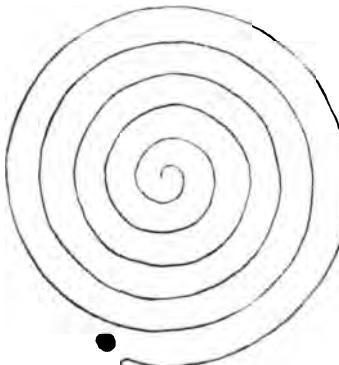
(Throw Luck to Heaven.)

Here a clasped knife is used with some mark on blade or handle, quite as when you play pitch and toss. The cast tells when the knife thrown up falls down lying, the mark uppermost. A proceeds, throwing as many times as the knife falls having the mark uppermost. Only it is to be observed that the player must go three times round "Heaven," five points every time. The wooden stick, being the mark, is of course moved from place to place.



From Darum, W. Jutland.

1. Helvede (Hell).
- 2, 3, 4. Musehuller (Mouseholes).
5. Smörfjerdingen (the Buttercask).
- 6, 7. Musehuller.
8. Himmerig (Heaven).

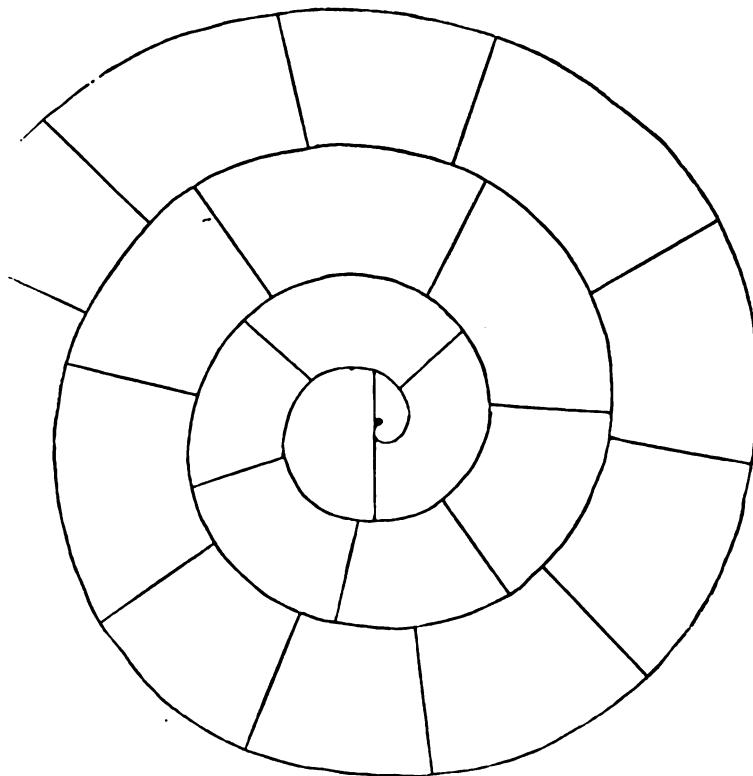


1. From Fyn, Denmark.

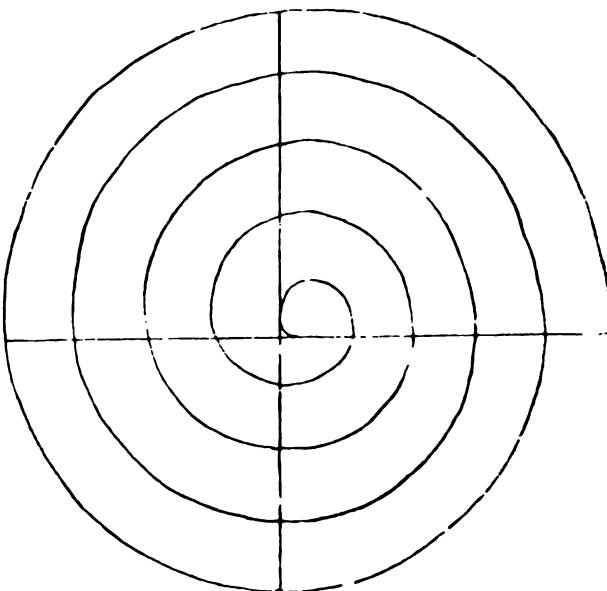
Snegl (Snail).

A and B. A puts his stone at the beginning of the "Snail," pushing it, hopping on one leg, before him, trying to get into the centre. Having arrived there he is allowed a short rest on his both legs. Afterwards he is to push his stone out again, hopping on one

leg. If he succeed without ever touching the line with his foot or with the stone, he wins. As soon as he touches, B comes in.



2. From Copenhagen, 1895.



3. This figure is copied by a friend of mine from the streets of Stockholm,
Spring, 1895.

Since the above paper was read Dr. Feilberg has sent
the following further communication to Mr. J. G. Frazer, to
whom the above was in the first instance also addressed:—

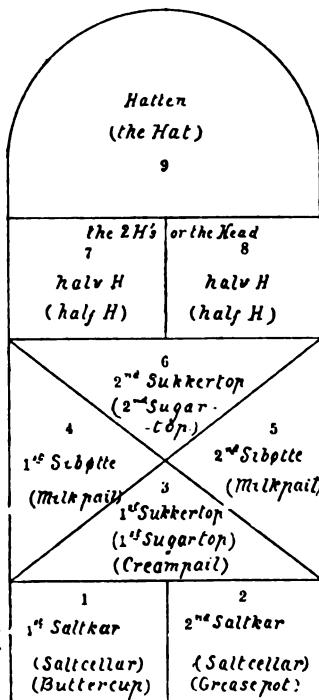
DEAR MR. FRAZER,

Enclosed I send you the last diagrams from the same
neighbourhood, only with a small difference of names marked
with red ink, else in everything similar. I have translated
verbo tenus, as well as I was able, the little girl's curious
explanation, hoping to amuse you by it.

Yours most truly,

H. F. FEILBERG.

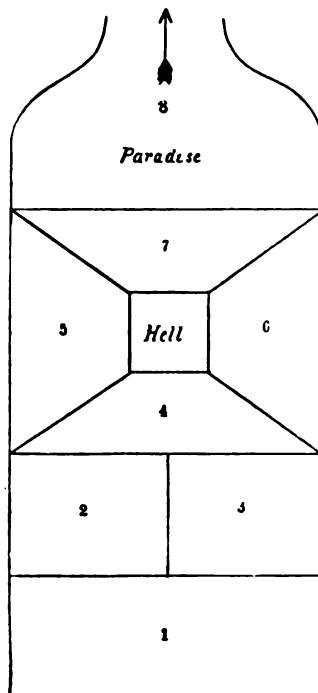
" Now I suppose that Hulfred and myself are going to 'hop Paradise.' Now you can begin, Hulfred! She throws a stone into the first 'saltkar,' and begins hopping. The fact is she must hop on one leg, and if she puts the other foot to the ground she is not allowed to hop any more, for then I am to go into her place; and if she treads upon the line, then she is not allowed to hop any more; and if the stone remains lying on the line as she pushes it hopping, then also I am going to take her place; and if the stone bolts out through one of the sides of the figure, or through its corner, she is also not allowed to proceed; and if she succeeds in pushing out the stone she is not allowed to hop out by the side or the corner of the figure, but she must hop out nicely behind the stone. As soon as she has hopped the stone out from the one 'saltkar,' she throws it into the second, and when she has hopped it out from this place she throws it into the first 'sukkertop,' and when she has hopped it out from this place, without putting her foot on the line, or hopping the stone out by the side or the corner of the figure, then she throws it into one of the 'sibøtter,' afterwards into the second 'sukkertop,' and when she has hopped it out she throws it up into the one 'half H', afterwards into the second, and at last into the 'Hat'; then she hops it out, and having hopped it out she throws it the second time up, and when she hops up past it she must hop into all the rooms, afterwards round the 'Hat.' Then, taking the stone, she



hops down with it in her hand, and the play begins over again. Now I think that I have written everything how it is to 'hop paradise.'

"Greetings from KIRSTINE SØRENSEN and
HULFRED ANDREASEN."

(Children of about ten years of age, from the neighbourhood of Odense, Fyn.)



From the neighbourhood of Grenaa, East Jutland, communicated by Professor la Cour as played in his childhood, about thirty years ago. In Hell the player, if his stone remained lying there, was lost; from Paradise the stone was pushed in the direction of the arrow; no other names as far as he remembered.

THE "WITCH-BURNING" AT CLONMEL.

THE interest of many of the details disclosed in the recent trial, and the preliminary proceedings before the magistrates of Clonmel, has moved the Council of the Society to direct that the following analysis of the evidence shall be printed, so as to preserve the relevant facts in a form accessible to scientific students.

In the month of March last rumours were afloat in the neighbourhood concerning the mysterious disappearance of Bridget Cleary, aged about twenty-six years, the wife of Michael Cleary, residing at Ballyvadlea, a remote and isolated district a short distance from Cloneen, between that village and Mullinahone, in the county of Tipperary. Ultimately Michael Cleary, Patrick Boland (father of Bridget Cleary), John Dunne, Patrick, James, Michael, and Mary Kennedy, and William Ahearne were brought before the magistrates, charged with assaulting and illtreating Bridget Cleary on the 14th March, and causing her actual bodily harm. Her body had not then been found. The prisoners were remanded, and search was made for the missing woman. On Friday, the 22nd March, the body was discovered, buried in a cramped position, in a piece of swampy land about a quarter of a mile from Cleary's house. An inquest was held and the jury returned a verdict of death caused by extensive burns. These burns, as the evidence showed, were on the abdomen, the lower part of the back, and the left hand.

On the resumption of the magisterial inquiry, in addition to the prisoners already named, William Kennedy and Denis Ganey, a herb-doctor, were also included in the charge. All the Kennedys were cousins of the deceased, except Mary Kennedy, who was her aunt. The report of the proceedings in *The Irish Times* of the 26th, 27th, 28th March, and the 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 8th April last, is here followed.

The most important witness for the Crown was Mrs. Johannah Burke, wife of a labourer residing at Rath Kenney near the Clearys. She stated that on the night of Thursday, the 14th March, she went up to see Mrs. Cleary, who was ill, and met William Simpson and his wife outside the door of the house, which was locked. "Witness asked for admittance, but Michael Cleary said they would not open the door. While they remained outside they stood at the window. They heard someone inside saying: 'Take it, you —,' or 'witch.' When the door was opened, witness went in and saw Dunne and three of the Kennedys holding Mrs. Cleary down on her bed by her hands and feet, and her husband was giving her herbs and milk in a spoon out of a saucepan. They forced her to take the herbs, and Cleary asked her: 'Are you Mary Boland, the wife of Michael Cleary, in the name of God?' She answered it once or twice, and her father asked a similar question. Michael Cleary [witness thought] then threw a certain liquid on his wife. They put the question to her again, and she used to repeat the words after them. John Dunne then said: 'Hold her over the fire, and she will soon answer.' Dunne, Cleary and P. Kennedy then lifted Mrs. Cleary off the bed, and placed her in a kind of sitting position over the kitchen fire, which was a slow one. Mrs. Cleary's appearance had greatly changed. She seemed to be wild and deranged, especially while they were so treating her. While they held her over the fire, she had only her nightdress and chemise on. They repeated the question, and she answered: 'I am Bridget Boland, daughter of Pat Boland, in the name of God.' She screamed and cried out to me: 'Oh Han, Han!' They put her back to bed . . . Nothing more happened when they put her back to bed about 11 o'clock. They all stayed in the house till next morning at 6 o'clock, except Dunne and Ahearne, who went after two o'clock. Mrs. Cleary never went to sleep. She was nervous and not

sensible. At one time she said: 'The police are at the window; let you mind me now.'

The following evening the witness went with her daughter Katty to Cleary's house, and found Bridget Cleary in bed. The witness prepared some milk for her. Later on, "Mrs. Cleary asked her husband if I was paid for the milk. I said 'Yes,' and showed her the shilling, which she took and put under the blankets, and gave it back again in a minute. Subsequently, when Mrs. Cleary was sitting at the fire with her husband, he said she had rubbed the shilling to her leg. She got angry at that, and said she did not rub it to her leg—that there were no 'pishrogues' about her." Other persons came into the house, among them several of the accused; and Bridget Cleary was dressed and brought down to the kitchen. "Her father, my brother and myself, and deceased and her husband sat at the fire. They were talking about the fairies, and Mrs. Cleary said to her husband, 'Your mother used to go with the fairies, and that is why you think I am going with them.' He asked her, 'Did my mother tell you that?' She said, 'She did; that she gave two nights with them.' I made tea, and offered Bridget Cleary a cup of it. Her husband got three bits of bread and jam, and said she should eat them before she should take a sup. He asked her three times: 'Are you Bridget Cleary, my wife, in the name of God?' She answered twice, and ate two pieces of bread and jam. When she did not answer the third time he forced her to eat the third bit, saying, 'If you won't take it, down you will go.' He flung her on the ground, put his knee on her chest, one hand on her throat, and forced the bit of bread and jam down her throat, saying 'Swallow it. Is it down? Is it down?' . . . I said, 'Mike, let her alone, don't you see it is Bridget that is in it?' meaning that it was Bridget his wife, and not the fairy, for he suspected that it was a fairy and not his wife that was there. Michael Cleary then stripped his wife's clothes off, except her chemise, and got

a lighting stick out of the fire. She was lying on the floor, and he held it near her mouth. My mother and brothers and myself wanted to leave the house when he flung her on the floor, but Michael Cleary had the key of the door in his pocket, and said the door would not be opened until he got his wife back." According to the report, District Inspector Wansborough, who was prosecuting, then asked a shamefully leading question, which would not have been tolerated in an English court of justice; but different principles prevail in Irish courts: "'Did you see him throw the lamp-oil on her?'—I did. . . . 'Did she say anything when she was burning?'—She did. She turned and called out to me, in a mournful tone, 'Oh Han, Han!'—'What did you reply?'—I endeavoured to get out for the peelers. My brother, when he could not get the key, went up into the other room, and fell in a weakness. My mother threw Easter water on him.—'Where was Bridget Cleary all this time?'—She was burning on the hearth. The house was full of smoke and smell. I had to go up to the room. I could not stand. When I looked down to the kitchen I saw the remains of Bridget Cleary on the floor, lying on a sheet. She was lying on her face, and her legs turned upwards as if they had contracted in the burning." The unfortunate woman was then dead. Michael Cleary came up into the room where the witness was and fetched a large sack. "He said, 'Hold your tongue, Hannah. It is not Bridget I am burning. You will soon see her go up in the chimney.' He went down to the kitchen with the sack, and when I looked down again the body had been burned. When she was burning, Michael Cleary screamed out, 'She is burned now, but God knows I did not mean to do it. I may thank Jack Dunne for all of it.'" Cleary and witness's brother Patrick then took the body away to bury it.

Some additional particulars were given by other witnesses who were called to corroborate this hideous story. Katie Burke, a little girl, daughter of the previous witness,

said that Michael Cleary knocked his wife down when she would not eat the third bit of bread. "Then he got a red stump and told her he would put it down her mouth if she would not eat the bit. She did not eat it. Then he caught her and laid her on the fire. Then she took fire. He got lamp-oil and put it on her and she blazed up. When she was burning James and William Kennedy roared for the key, and they did not get it. William Kennedy and Mrs. Burke tried to get the key. . . . Then they went in the room and witness heard Michael Cleary say: 'Go up the chimney!' but did not know what name he called her. Mrs. Cleary was burning, and witness saw a sheet on the floor."

William Simpson of Ballyvadlea, caretaker, who, it will be remembered, met Mrs. Burke outside the door of Cleary's cottage on Thursday evening, was examined on 1st April and said, among other things: "He could not say who opened the door. As he went in he heard loud shouts of 'Away she go, away she go!' He could not say who said that. The men who were holding the deceased were saying it. . . . John Dunne was holding her by the head; Pat Kennedy was holding her arm on the right side; James was holding her on the left side; William Kennedy was holding her by the legs. . . . Deceased was lying upon her back. . . . She appeared to be in pain. She shouted and screamed a little at that time. She screamed more afterwards than she did then. . . . Mrs. Cleary's husband was standing by the bed. He was holding a saucepan in both hands. He asked deceased: 'Are you Bridget Boland, the wife of Michael Cleary, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost?' She made some reply to the effect 'Yes, I am.' . . . The questions were repeated several times: she only answered a few times. Witness saw Michael Cleary afterwards giving his wife some liquids in a spoon out of the saucepan." Asked what was in the saucepan, witness said: "I don't know, but I heard that it

was herbs. I did not hear that anything else was in it. I heard Michael Cleary say that he got some herbs from Ganey. . . . Cleary was forcing the herbs into the mouth of the deceased. She resisted by keeping her mouth closed. The liquid was forced in. Besides this, water¹ was thrown on her. This was called for by Michael Cleary, and was fetched by Mary Kennedy from an adjoining room. This was brought three or four times, and the process of throwing it on her lasted at intervals over a period of ten or twenty minutes. The father and husband were both asking her questions in the meantime." They apparently repeated again and again the question above-mentioned. There were now thirteen persons in the room, including the witness. Colonel Evanson, the presiding magistrate, asked: "'What were they there for, in your opinion?'—To hunt away the witches and fairies. The door was open for that purpose. I don't know that they came for that purpose, but when they were there they were at that work. I went to see Mrs. Cleary." The witness was asked: "'Did not Mrs. Cleary at all reply to the questions put to her?'—She did when she was on the fire. Her father asked her: 'Are you the daughter of Patrick Boland, wife of Michael Cleary? Answer in the name of God.' She answered: 'I am, dada.' Her husband asked her a similar question then, and she said: 'Yes, I am.' Those questions were answered repeatedly by her. They were then satisfied that they had their own.—'What do you mean by that?'—That they had Mrs. Cleary, and not a witch.—'Then what had they got before?'—They believed that they had a witch. About

¹ According to the *Cork Examiner* and other reports, this is called "a certain noxious fluid." Mr. Leland L. Duncan writes: "I specially noted the phrase for enquiry this summer. I found the good folk of Leitrim full of the case, and they told me several little similar tales. From these it appears that the great charm for getting people back from 'the good people' is to throw over them a concoction of strong urine and hen's excrement. This choice compound, or at any rate part of it, is evidently here the 'certain noxious fluid.'"

twenty minutes before she was taken off the bed she screamed terribly. That was when the medicine went down. They also shook her then, and slapped her hands. The same men held her from start to finish. When they were shaking her they all said: 'Away with you! Come home, Bridget Boland, in the name of God!'"¹ After deceased was removed from the fire and fresh clothing put on her, "she was then asked by her husband did she know the persons standing around her, and she said 'Yes.' He showed her one of the Kennedys in particular and asked her what relation was he to her, and she said her first cousin. And he asked her in turn did she know each person in the room, and she said she did. They were all satisfied then that they had her. They were all speaking and saying: 'Do you think it is her that is here?' And the answer would be 'Yes'; and they were all delighted at it." All this took place on Thursday, the 14th March, the first of the two days spoken of by Mrs. Burke. Simpson gave further important evidence. "Witness saw Michael Cleary on the road on the same day that he heard Mrs. Cleary was missing [apparently Saturday, the 16th March], and again on the Sunday following. Cleary said that his wife left the house at 12 o'clock on Friday night. Witness believed him. He saw Cleary again about 7 or 8 o'clock that evening. He asked witness for the loan of a revolver. He said that those parties who had convinced him about his wife would not go with him to the fort." Asked what was meant by that, the witness said: "It appeared to me that they had convinced him that his wife had gone to the fort.

¹ According to some of the reports "a man at each side of the bed kept the body swinging about the whole time." Mr. Duncan says: "There is evidently some virtue in the swinging business. I was told that one way of getting a child back was to seat it on a shovel and swing it out of the door back and forward, saying: 'If you're a fairy, away with you!' You should also, previous to this little ceremony, give it lusmore (foxglove), three drops on the tongue and three in each ear. This explains the herb so frequently mentioned."

—‘What was the fort?’—The fort at Kylenagranagh Hill. It appeared to me that they had convinced him that his wife had gone with fairies, and as they had convinced him so far he should see it out with them.—‘He wanted a revolver to force them to go?’—Yes. The fort was reported to be a fairies’ habitation. Cleary said he expected to meet her at the fort.—‘Did he say how he expected her to appear?’—He said she would be riding a grey horse, and she had told him so. And he said that they should cut the ropes that were tying her on the saddle, and she would then stay with him if he was able to keep her. Witness did not lend him a revolver, but afterwards saw Cleary with a big table-knife in his pocket to go to the fort with.”

Mary Simpson, wife of William Simpson, corroborated these statements. She also said that when the door was opened, on the Thursday evening, and she and her husband went in with Mrs. Burke and her daughter, “she heard the men inside then say: ‘Away she goes, away she goes!’ as though they were driving something out of the house. It appeared to her that they did not believe Mrs. Cleary was there, and that they wanted to drive away what was in the bed. . . . They thought it was a witch, but I did not.” She further stated that when Cleary was giving his wife the herbs he said: “Take that, in the name of God,” and “Brigid Cleary come back to me in the name of God!”

The Rev. Cornelius F. Ryan “deposed that he was curate of the parish of Drangan. The Clearys were members of his congregation, and under his spiritual charge. He had known them for about a year and a half, and never observed any signs of mental derangement in Mrs. Cleary until he attended her almost immediately before her death, on the 13th March. As far as he could say, she and her husband were living on good terms with each other. When he visited her on the afternoon of the 13th she was in bed. She appeared to be in a very nervous state, and, as he thought possibly hysterical, he came to the conclusion that

it might be the beginning of mental derangement. She did not converse with him except as a priest; and her conversation was quite coherent and intelligible." Mr. Ryan administered the last rites of the church to her on that occasion; and on Friday morning, the 15th, he came again, being summoned by Cleary, and celebrated Mass in her room. A piece of evidence follows which ought to be carefully borne in mind, especially in reference to denials by ministers of religion of the existence of superstitious practices and beliefs in their neighbourhood. The witness was asked by the District Inspector: "Is it possible that you heard nothing of these proceeding about witchcraft?" And he replied: "Up to the time [*sic*] I heard nothing—absolutely nothing!" "Don't you think that very extraordinary?" enquired the Inspector. "No," he replied, "I do not. The priest is very often the last to hear of things like that—generally, I should say. I heard a rumour on the Saturday after, that Mrs. Cleary had disappeared mysteriously. I had no suspicion of foul play or witchcraft, and if I had I should have at once absolutely refused to say Mass in the house, and have given information to the police at once."

Dr. Crean gave evidence that he attended the deceased on the 13th March and found her suffering from a slight bronchial catarrh and nervous excitement.

Ultimately, all the prisoners except Ganey (who was discharged) were committed for trial on the charge of wilful murder.

A few extracts may be added from the statements made by the prisoners on their committal. Boland, among other things, said: "Said Cleary to me: 'Have you any faith? Don't you know it is with an old witch I am sleeping?' I said: 'You are not. You are sleeping with my daughter.'" Mary Kennedy "said that on Wednesday she was sent for by Michael Cleary to go down and see his wife. She went down and saw her, and she complained of suffering from a

pain in her head. She said that Michael Cleary was making a fairy of her, and that he had tried to burn her three months ago." John Dunne stated that after the murder Cleary told him: "She was not my wife. She was too fine to be my wife. She was two inches taller than my wife." After going to the priest on Sunday, Cleary "asked him (Dunne) would he go look for her to the fort that evening. He replied that he would not; that that was only moonshine. Cleary said that he was sure that the woman was there; that it was not his wife that he burned." James Kennedy stated that "they," meaning apparently his brother William, Cleary and himself, "went three nights to the fort at Kylenagranagh, but did not see anything."

The trial took place at Clonmel on the 4th and 5th July last, before Mr. Justice O'Brien and a jury. No further illustration of the superstition was elicited save what follows, taken from the evidence of Mrs. Burke, reported in *The Irish Times* of the 6th July. "On cross-examination by Dr. Falconer, witness said she was in Cleary's house when Cleary said to William Simpson that the house was full of fairies. That was on Thursday. He said that not one fairy was going out of the door, but several. 'At the time the body was burned was the Rosary said?'—Yes. At the time the body was laid on the sheet my mother said: 'In the name of God, let you go anywhere and say the Rosary. It was the devil that whispered it into his ears.' Cleary then said to Dunne: 'I have something here that will make her all right.' Dunne said: 'It is not to-day you have a right to get anything for her; it is not in Fethard you had a right to be for a doctor. Three days ago you had a right to be beyond with Ganey, for the doctor had nothing to do with her. It is not your wife is there. You will have enough to do to bring her back. This is the eighth day, and you had a right to have gone to Ganey on the fifth day.' He added that the herbs should be given to her on the fifth day.—'Did he mention the name of the herb? Did he say

it was lusmore?'—No; he said it was the seventh brother of the seventh sister, or the seventh sister of the seventh brother, or something like that. He said that was the last herb that could be given to her; and he said it would either kill or cure. He had herbs in his hand; and he gave instructions to Michael Cleary to boil them, and make the sign of the cross, and go round the house making pishrogues. Cleary asked Dunne was he doing it right, and Dunne said he was. Then Cleary went round the house making pishrogues and charms. Dunne whispered to Cleary, so that I should not hear what the charm was. Cleary made no fairy of her; it was all Dunne's fault. Cleary was fond of his wife and had the priest to attend her."¹

The result of the trial was that all the prisoners were found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to various terms of penal servitude and imprisonment, the sentence on Cleary being that of twenty years' penal servitude.

It is not intended here to discuss the details of the superstitions alluded to by the witnesses, as to which many interesting questions arise. Be it sufficient to point out that though the word *witch* is frequently used, it is abundantly clear that, whether Cleary was or was not himself a dupe (as to which a careful reading of the evidence may suggest a doubt), the majority of the prisoners were at first under the impression that Bridget Cleary had been taken away by the fairies and a changeling substituted, though this impression seems to have been removed from the minds of most of them after she was placed on the fire on the Thursday evening.

It would only seem necessary to add a protest, in the interest of the due administration of the law, against the article by Mr. E. F. Benson in the *Nineteenth Century* for June last. Some of Mr. Benson's interpretations of the

¹ Here it was obvious, as the judge pointed out to the jury, that the witness was trying to screen her relative Cleary at the expense of Dunne.

evidence before the magistrates are disputable; but whether they are right or wrong is not the point. The article in question was published before the trial. It was an attempt to influence public opinion upon a case that was still *sub judice*. And, however unlikely to reach the jurymen who would have to try the guilt of the prisoners, it ought not to have been published at that time.

REVIEWS.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES, BEING PART OF AN INQUIRY
INTO THE STRUCTURE AND METHODS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY.
By FREDERIC SEEBOHM, LL.D., F.S.A. London: Longmans,
Green & Co., 1895.

MR. SEEBOHM has undertaken a difficult and very important task, namely, the investigation of the tribal system of ancient society; and this volume, limited to the Welsh portion of the subject, is a first instalment. It would be presumptuous on my part to pretend to criticise Mr. Seebohm's work from exactly the standpoint he has adopted, but it may not be altogether so if I attempt to consider it by the light of its extreme importance to the student of folklore. There is no more fruitful source of error to our science than to suppose that folklore is limited to myth, belief and custom unconnected with the social organisations which formed the shell within which all the life of early man was moulded. I would add that there is as much possibility of error to those who study institutions without the aid that folklore has the power to give.

Now it would be affectation to deny that Mr. Seebohm has produced a masterly study of early Welsh tribal society without apparently being much indebted to folklore. But I very much question whether his is not an unacknowledged debt of greater value than perhaps he is aware. It is quite true that he claims an economic value only (p. 238) for his results, and therefore seems to forestall any objections which might be raised by those who consider that economics cannot claim all; but he treads dangerously near the territory of institutional folklore when he notices the customs which tell so forcibly of the worship of the hearth. And it is exactly here that Mr. Seebohm just misses the full output of his own research. The economical conditions of early tribal societies were not the result of the free development of

natural economic laws ; and perhaps the most powerful factor operating against such a development must be looked for in what is now known as folklore. Mr. Seebohm somewhat tardily recognises this when he says: "We may be thankful even to folklore for reminding us that the ties of Cymric blood relationship may have had religious sanctions long ago obscured, if not altogether obliterated by Christian and ecclesiastical influences " (p. 86). And, again, when he admits that legends of Irish chieftainship "are not without value when real history is wanting " (p. 143). I fancy that before the students of early institutions have finished their labours they will have to be more respectful to a science which will yield them as much fruitful material as, if not more than, the meagre and often misleading sentences of legal deeds and monkish chronicles.

But I do not wish to lay too much stress upon this deficiency of Mr. Seebohm's book. It is in truth a deficiency that almost any one of us might supply for himself ; and no greater testimony can be given to the value of Mr. Seebohm's researches than this fact. He has worked so carefully and so correctly through the manuscripts by which he has been guided, that his results might be taken up at any point and continued by students of other branches of institutional history. There would be little or no going back upon Mr. Seebohm's work. All that would be necessary would be to gather up the ends of the threads as he has left them, and to weave on to them the new work.

Mr. Seebohm's method is quite familiar to us now. He takes up the details supplied by some late legal documents—in this case the " Extents," temp. Edward I. and Edward III.—and after exhaustively analysing them and getting from them all the conclusions that they can give of themselves, he turns back to some earlier documents—in this case the codes of Welsh law and the traditions supplied by chronicles—and ascertains how much of the later evidence is represented also in the earlier, and what additional evidence is supplied. Nothing could be better stated than such an argument as this. It must convince even the most sceptical that the society depicted in legal documents is not depicted in full, that the description is merely that of the framework—a framework, too, which is so well known to the scribes and the persons interested in the documents under examination, that it does not need and does not obtain anything more than



a most cursory and elementary description. Mr. Seebohm has proved once for all that documentary evidence can only be studied by the light of other evidence, and by the same scientific process as one studies other material for the history of man. He has proved once for all that evidence recorded of a later period is evidence also of unchanged facts of an early period. What this early period may be, and how far back we may in turn trace it, is a question yet to be solved. At all events we have in Mr. Seebohm's work a solid basis upon which to begin investigation into this part of the subject.

Mr. Seebohm finds that under the Welsh tribal system "there were two great classes, those of Cymric blood and those who were strangers in blood. There was a deep if not impassable gulf between these two classes quite apart from any question of land or of conquest. It was a division in blood. And it soon becomes apparent that the tenacity with which the distinction was maintained was at once one of the strong distinctive marks of the tribal system and one of the main secrets of its strength" (p. 55). If to this we add the words "and of its origin," I think we have as good a definition of the essentials of the tribal system everywhere as could well be found. Through the interesting evidence as to the kin-shattered person, the holding together of the kindred, the marrying of daughters, and other necessary elements, Mr. Seebohm traces out the structure of tribal society with masterly force and directness of purpose. He misses the significance of tribal rights having been secured through maternal kinship when a full tribeswoman married a non-tribesman; he understates the significance of the hearth cult; but he nowhere leads the student beyond the line marked by the evidence upon which he almost exclusively relies. The relation of the tribe to the land is the portion of the subject which Mr. Seebohm treats with the greatest possible skill and success, and we arrive finally at the cluster of homesteads into groups from which the *gwesta*, or *tunc* pound in lieu of it, was due—that clustering which in his earlier book, the *English Village Community*, he defined as supplying "obviously distinctive features arising from the tribal holding of land, and that the system was adopted apparently to facilitate the division of the land among the families in the tribe." On the whole Mr. Seebohm's new researches do not seem to have enabled him to advance upon this definition. He takes the clustering

and the food-rents connected therewith as an inherent part of the tribal system, going back to the earliest Cymric times, and by inference to the earliest tribal times (see p. 230). It is this inference which I venture to think is not proven. The Cymric conquerors of Wales under Cunedda, from whom Mr. Seeböhm dates his evidence as to the Welsh tribal system (p. 148), were not only not the first occupiers of Welsh territory, but not the first Celtic occupiers, for they drove out their cousins the Goedelic Celts. But, more than this, they were post-Roman conquerors of Wales, and probably, as Professor Rhys points out with some force, saturated with Roman ceremonial, aided by Roman organisation, and descended from Roman fathers (*Celtic Britain*, p. 120). Nowhere perhaps in all Britain was the Roman power more consolidated than in Wales; and it is just here that we meet with the curious artificial grouping of tax-paying units. The evidence of India affords many examples of the same sort of artificial grouping arising out of primitive tribes coming under the taxation system of Imperial Britain, as, for instance, in the Kangra district, so well described by Mr. Lyall; and there seems to me little doubt that the artificial grouping in the Cymric tribal system is due to the iron hand of the Roman tax-gatherer. If this is so, it is not an essential part of the ancient tribal system, but a form into which the tribal system would become moulded under similar circumstances, wherever it might meet with them.

I have thought it right to emphasise these points in taking stock of Mr. Seeböhm's contribution to the early history of the tribe, because they are all essential to those who may be taking up the subject from where Mr. Seeböhm leaves off and going back further into the past. Mr. Seeböhm himself seems to think that students of his book will take up the subject from the economical point of view only, and will be chiefly interested in the modern economic evolution of society in Wales, which must start from the Celtic tribal system (p. 171). I am assuredly doing him only justice when I state that his book will be used far and wide by all who wish to deal adequately with the early history of man in Western Europe, and in Britain in particular; and if I have ventured to disagree with some of his conclusions, I have done so only in the spirit which conduces to further investigation.

LAURENCE GOMME.

EGYPTIAN TALES TRANSLATED FROM THE PAPYRI. Second Series, XVIIIth to XIXth Dynasty. Edited by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Hon. D.C.L., LL.D. London : Methuen & Co., 1895.

THIS second series of the translation of Egyptian tales, of which we reviewed the first series in June last, contains, like its predecessor, four tales, accompanied by the Editor's comments. The four stories are The Taking of Joppa, The Doomed Prince, Anpu and Bata (hitherto known as The Two Brothers), and Setna and the Magic Book : all of them stories of much intrinsic interest. It is greatly to be regretted that three out of the four are only known from imperfect papyri. The openings of the first and last are wanting. The second breaks off at the most interesting part, and has besides a whole paragraph obviously misplaced. We may add to Dr. Petrie's conjectures, as to the probable close of this tale, that perhaps the Doomed Prince was put to death after all by the dog, and restored to life by his faithful wife. This would fulfil the prediction of the Hathors, without violating poetical justice or the Egyptian notion of probability.

The tales present a variety of points highly interesting to the student of folklore, and the Editor's notes are most useful in elucidating many obscurities. The translations of three out of the four may be profitably compared with those of M. Maspero. It is perhaps to be regretted that Dr. Petrie has felt it needful to soften some of the expressions, and in the case of one of the tales in this and the previous volume to give a mere abstract of an important episode. But as a whole the volume, like its predecessor, will not fail to be highly appreciated by students alike of literature and folklore.

We have noted a few printer's errors, chiefly concerned with the concord of nominative and verb ; and our glass has not been strong enough to discover the star referred to on page 7.

KILNS, MILLS, MILLERS, MEAL, AND BREAD. By the Rev.
WALTER GREGOR, M.A., LL.D. London: David Nutt,
1894.

WHEN we see Dr. Gregor's name attached to any work, we know what to expect, namely, original collections from the mouth of the folk, set down in business-like catalogues, with unrivalled precision of detail as to localities and variants, and withal not a word from the writer himself, nothing to show what is the special purpose or the outcome of the collection. The present pamphlet takes a somewhat original line. It is an exhaustive collection of the folklore pertaining to that universal human necessity, *Bread*, in the writer's special district, North-east Scotland. Drying, grinding, baking, every stage in the process, has its own lore. Fairies and kelpies stop the mill, borrow the meal, or spoil the baking; luck-rules must be observed for fear of dearth; divinations and omens are drawn from cakes and loaves; cakes must be provided for all family events and yearly festivals; games, riddles, and proverbs turn on grinding and baking. Bread and cheese were carried in the wedding procession to treat the first person met; the bride on arriving at her new home must plunge her hand into the meal-chest. Bread and cheese were in like manner carried with a new-born babe, and meal or bread put into its hand in the first house it visited. Iron must be put into the meal in a house where a dead body is lying, and no baking done in the house lest the meal or bread turn mouldy. Bread and water were placed in the death chamber the night after the funeral for the use of the spirit of the dead expected to return that night. The principal ceremonial, eating of bread and cheese or bread and butter, was at the *first ploughing* of the year, when sometimes the plough-horses, and generally the birds, shared the feast. The Yule Bread, at Christmas, was chiefly remarkable for the care with which it was baked. It was generally done during the night, and a supply sufficient to last throughout the festival must be ready before daybreak. The cakes of bread must not be counted. A bannock was named for each of the family, and if it broke in the baking the one who owned it would die before next Christmas. The other days for which special cakes were baked were *Eastern's Even* (Shrove Tuesday), when they were used for divination, and May Day, when they were also so used, but in a peculiar way, by rolling them downhill to see if they would break. They were afterwards eaten

out of doors. (Easter eggs are thus treated in Furness, Lancashire.) In one place it was held necessary to knead a May Day bannock entirely in the hand, never to set it down except for baking, and to lift it from the fire into the hand of the recipient, otherwise it had no more virtue than ordinary bread. May Day, it should be said, was the occasion of first driving out the cattle to pasture after the winter. It is difficult for a southerner to realise that none of these varieties of "bread," "cakes," and "bannocks," are baked in an oven, but that they are all varieties of what we should call "oatcake," and are baked either on a "girdle" or on the hearth.

One very marked case of "survival" is noted by Dr. Gregor. On two hills in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire, travellers had to propitiate "the Banshee" by placing a barley meal cake, marked on one side by a round O, beside a well at the top of each hill. If this was not done, death or some great misfortune would be the consequence. Instances of such results are related. We wish that Dr. Gregor had been able to inform us how lately this custom was in use.

LEGENDS OF FLORENCE COLLECTED FROM THE PEOPLE, AND
RETOLD BY C. G. LELAND. First Series. D. Nutt, 1895.

THE greater number of the pieces in this book are local legends ; they grew up as attempts to explain something odd in the name of a street, or some queer statute, or some part of a coat of arms. We have a tale to show how the Via delle Serve Smarrite got its name (p. 41) ; the Enchanted Cow of the Via Vacchereccia (109) ; the Bronze Boar of the Old Market (47) ; the pills of the Medicean escutcheon (6), and armorial bearings of other families, gentle and simple (83, &c.). The bridges of Florence have their ghosts. Many of these stories are old friends in a new dress, or contain elements which the student of folklore will recognise at once. The legend of the Via della Mosca, for instance (p. 188), has a good girl, and a wicked girl with a witch-mother ; the witch enchains a comb of thorns, so that whoever was combed with it turns into a fly. The fly in this case sings of its own transformation. We are reminded of the wicked old woman who sticks a pin into the bride's head, and turns her into a bird ; and it is a

common feature in tales that an ill-treated innocent, transformed or in the form of dead bones, sings its fate to those dear to it (e.g., Grimm, No. 47). In the legend of the Via del Fico, a fig-tree grows from a dog's bones (205); in it was the luck of the master of the ground, and ill luck came to him who plucked its fruit or did it damage. Then there is Beauty and the Beast (47), with silence taboo, and the boar-man who doffs his hide and becomes human.

The sacrifice of life at founding of a bridge seems to be referred to in the legend of the Ponte alla Carraia, which is haunted by the ghost of a goat, that when seen sinks into the ground at a certain spot (77). The "secret chamber" incident is varied on page 114. And there are many others scattered through the book.

Not the least interesting are such legends as recall those of classical times. We have Echo, the voice of spirits of the dead (78); Orpheus and Eurydice (227); and Intialo, whom the author identifies with an Etruscan word Hinthal, written on tombstones after the name of the dead man. Orpheus is invoked by those who wish for skill to play upon the shepherd's pipe; he is asked for "the skill he won from hell"; a difference from the classical variant, when he uses his skill to charm the lords of Hades. Part of the ritual consists of *burying the pipe* three days in the earth, as Orpheus himself went down into the earth to Hades.

There are a number of extraordinary incantations and accounts of witches and witch-ritual. Besides that of Orpheus already mentioned, there is a love-charm done by aid of the *mirror* (254) and a *glass* negative of the lover's photograph, with bits of his hair. Cain is invoked in this charm; and it appears that he lives in the moon, with a bundle of thorns on his back. But the most striking, and to my mind a really fine poem, is the invocation to Intialo (238); where a demon threatens a man that he will haunt him, and the man replies in a splendid piece of malignant scorn, that he is a greater wizard than the demon, by virtue of a "lovely witch" who protects him.

Of other odd pieces of lore, I may mention that it is explained why a horseshoe brings good luck (123); the *earth of your footprint* is weighed to try your guilt (118); and *stolen oil* is used for love charms (269). The author avers that there are churches

about Rome where the oil is purposely left to be stolen or taken, though the thief is supposed to leave a copper to pay for it (*ibid.*). The special efficacy of things stolen has already been discussed in this journal. In the Shoemaker and St. John (125), a man treats the saint like a fetish.

Of more modern elements, besides the cross (which is constantly occurring), we have Dante and Michael Angelo as spirits (69, 52).

As regards the authenticity of the matter a word may be said. Mr. Leland has often been found fault with for "cooking" what he learns, and there is good reason for the censure. He distinctly states (pref. p. xi.) that he has in many cases worked up the stories from "a very slight foundation of tradition—often a mere hint" (see also p. 204). But we ought to be told exactly where this is done, and we ask for the "slight foundation" or the "mere hint" *verbatim*. Where he says that his familiar witch, Maddalena, has given him the document in writing, we can be satisfied; and this is often said. But we would beg Mr. Leland in his next book, which he promises soon, to tell us exactly how much is tradition and how much Leland, even if it be in a note. We shall enjoy the book none the less, and we shall know where we are. Enjoyable the book is, and rarely; read, for instance, the capital tales of the Egg-woman (11), St. Peter and the Smith (124), or Cheating the Devil (91). Every page is full of racy phrases and quaint proverbs. The verse translations, though sometimes free (p. 3), are pretty and idiomatic. But we protest against anything careless or slipshod. There is no call for Mr. Leland's unworthy sneer at what he calls the "second-rate folklorist" (p. xi). If any one deserves this title, it is he who designedly alters his material. We could also do without Flaxius. Flaxius always has something to say about the stories, and he is a dreary bore. Let Mr. Leland give us his other book soon, but with notes, and no Flaxius.

W. H. D. R.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME SCOTTISH FOLKLORE OF THE CHILD AND THE HUMAN BODY.

The following notes were recently collected in the localities indicated below :—

Children.

"A Monday's bairn is fair o' face;
A Teysday's bairn is fou' o' grace;
A Wednesday bairn's a bairn o' woe;
A Thursday bairn hiz far to go;
A Friday's bairn should be lovin' an' givin';
A Saiterday's bairn works hard for his livin';
The bairn that's born on Sabbath day
Should be fair an' wise an' happy an' gay."¹ —*Turriff.*

It was observed how infants held their hands for some time after birth. If they kept them closed it was a sure sign they would hold fast the money that came in their way, and the remark about such a child would have been heard : "He (she) 'll be a grippie, that ane," or "he'll be a gey grappie lad." If, on the contrary, the hands were kept open, the money would go as fast as it came.

It was a common custom to make a present of a coin to an infant the first time a friend went to see the mother, and to put it into the infant's hand. If the child closed the hand over the coin, then the money gained during life would be well looked after, but if the coin was allowed to drop from the hand, then the earnings would go as fast as they came. —*Turriff.*

If a child cut its teeth at an early date it was believed it would be short-lived (*Pitsligo, Keith, &c.*). One informant told me that she cut her teeth at an early period, and that an old woman

¹ A variant at p. 25 *Notes on the Folklore of North-East of Scotland.*

¹ See *Notes on the Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 48.

said to her mother that her child would not be long-lived, and added, "Ye winna mack a ream (cream) cake till (to) her."

If a child's first tooth comes in the upper jaw an early death follows. The saw is—

" If ye cut yir first teeth abeen,
Ye winna dance i' yir mairraige sheen." —*Tyrie.*

A large forehead in a child betokens an early death. I lately heard this belief expressed by a woman in Pitsligo.

The Hair.

A man with "red hair" is believed to be unfaithful as a husband. —*Dumbartonshire.*

The Eyebrows.

A man whose eyebrows met—"a close-broot man"—was called by some old people a "mare." (—*Tyrie.*) Such a feature is looked upon as an indication of an immoral nature. One informant told me that when a young woman she was warned to be on her guard against such men. She knew men having this peculiar feature who bore an evil name. —*Turriff.*

Some hold this peculiarity as a foretoken that the possessor will be hanged. —*Renton, Dumbartonshire.*

One with "close broos" was unlucky to meet as "first fit." —*Corgarff.*

The Eyes.

"Grey eyes," or as they are called sometimes "cat-eyes," are regarded as indicating a deceitful disposition. —*Aberdour.*

"Grey eyes" greedy,
"Blue eyes" needy. —*Turriff.*

"Black eyes" indicate deceit. —*Auchterless.*

The Lips.

White lips are regarded as a mark of an immoral nature and a treacherous disposition.

Thick lips are looked upon as indicative of a lustful nature. —*Various.*

The Teeth.

If the two front teeth are apart it shows that there is a fondness for the opposite sex (*various*), or, as an old woman expressed it, indicates "a lichtsome character." —*Aberdour.*

If the teeth are apart from each other the person will be short-lived. —*Pitsligo.*

The Arms.

Short arms indicate short life, and long arms long life (*various*), as well as strength. —*Tyrie.*

The Fingers.

If the forefinger is equal in length to the second finger, or longer than it, the person will not hesitate to steal (*various*). One of my informants knew a man who had this peculiarity in the fingers. When a child was born in the district the women present at the birth examined the new-born's fingers, and if there was no such malformation the remark was made that the fingers were not like So-and-So's. —*Aberdour.*

Long fingers are indicative of one given to thieving.
—*Dumbarton.*

Crooked fingers indicate a crabbed disposition.
—*Auchterless.*

One with crooked little fingers will be rich before death.
—*Tyrie.*

The Nails.

If the white part of the nails on leaving the flesh are long, it indicates long life; according to others, prosperity; if short, short life. —*Pitsligo.*

White spots on the nails are interpreted in different ways—as presents in general (*various places*), as marriage presents, as money (*Pitsligo*), and as the arrival of strangers. The nearer the spots are to the tips of the nails, the nearer is the arrival of the strangers. —*Garmouth.*

A white spot on the thumb means a friend,
on the forefinger, a foe,
on the second finger, a present,
on the third finger, a joe [lover],
on the little finger, a journey. —*Pitsligo.*
On the thumb, a friend,
on the forefinger, a foe,
on the second finger, a gift,
on the third finger, a beau,
on the little finger, a journey to go. —*Turriff.*

A white spot on the thumb signifies a new friend. —*Pitsligo.*

The Toes.

If the second toe is longer than the first—"the muckle tae"—in a man he is unkind to his wife. My informant told me she knew two men who had this peculiarity in the structure of the toes, and they were harsh to their wives. —*Turriff.*

WALTER GREGOR.

LESBIAN SUPERSTITION ABOUT CHICKENS.

A hen must be put to sit on eggs in the latter part of the month, so that the chickens may not be hatched in the same month in which she was set. Chickens hatched under these funest circumstances must be passed through an iron ring, otherwise they will not live. This treatment was this morning applied to our most recent brood, and the result is, hitherto, favourable; but I cannot speak for the future.

Mytilene.

W. R. PATON.

AN OLD-PERSIAN SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOM.

The following instance of a primitive religious ceremony observed at the moment of death among the ancient Parsees or Zoroastrians may deserve to be recorded among the notes of *F. L.*

"Lorsqu'un Guèbre (le plus ancien peuple de Perse) est à l'agonie, on prend un chien dont on applique la gueule sur la

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bouche du mourant, afin qu'il reçoive son âme avec son dernier soupir." This passage is quoted from *Le Chien primitif*, par M . . . (8^e Nantes, 1846), page 4, where the author refers to Tavernier's *Voyages en Perse* as his source, and furnishes a well-engraved illustration from the great folio work (published in eleven vols. at Amsterdam 1723-43) : "Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde représentées par des figures dessinées par B. Picart." (Tome ii, 1^e partie, p. 34.)

H. KREBS.

Oxford.

A KATTAK DANCE.

On Lord Roberts's vacating the post of commander-in-chief in India, an entertainment was given in his honour at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab province, in which he had passed the most part—if not all—his military career. In the forenoon of the appointed day there was a great *durbar*, or reception, attended chiefly by native chiefs and gentlemen, and at the Montgomery Hall in the evening Lord Roberts received a great number of officers belonging to different native regiments, the Asiatics all tendering their swords to him, as a sign of fealty to the British Crown.

When this ceremony was over, an adjournment was made to the public gardens. A singular dance was then executed by about 100 soldiers of a Punjab regiment in their native costume, who had been brought thither for that purpose. They belonged to Kattak, a place in the Kohat district. Their dress consisted of a voluminous white turban encircling in its folds a high peaked woollen cap. A loose dress of white calico reaching below the knees was confined at the waist by a broad sash of the same material, of which the very wide trousers were also made. The dancers commenced by forming a large circle around a huge bonfire. Within this circle the musicians stationed themselves. These consisted of four drummers (players on large tom-toms) and several performers on a kind of reed pipe. The movements of the dancers were slow at first; they danced in couples, each pair advancing and retreating several steps, and setting to each other as in our quadrille; or occasionally the men would turn round

rapidly, and then suddenly stooping down, cause their tunic and trousers to form a sort of double cheese upon the ground. The pace became gradually much accelerated, the dancers gave vent to wild shouts, and presently each man seized a sword and brandished it about in a way which seemed hazardous both for himself and his neighbours, madly careering round and round. After a time a few men left the large circle, and together with some of the musicians in their midst formed a smaller one apart a short distance off, within which they executed a kind of sword dance on their knees. By this time the musicians had worked themselves up to a great pitch of excitement ; they seemed quite unable to stop playing. One of the drummers began to execute all sorts of antics, seating himself upon his drum and rolling over with it without intermitting his playing. He also slung his drum round one thigh, and hopped about upon the other leg, beating his instrument the whole time.

HARRIET G. M. MURRAY-AVNSLEY.

INDIAN FOLKTALES.

The following tales were told to Miss Susette M. Taylor by her ayah, a Hindu woman named Ganga, over seventy years of age, at Sehore, in the native state of Bhopal, Central India. Miss Taylor says : "The ayah told me she was from Calcutta originally, but from her early girlhood she had inhabited Central India ; and here her children and grandchildren live. She also told me she learnt the tales from her grandmother. But several tales (those of Nerbudda and of Servan) refer to Central India ; and in telling me the tales she would one moment use the word *rajah* (Hindu term) and the next *pacha* (Mohammedan) for the same person."

The Two Friends.

There were once a rajah's son and a carpenter's son who were such great friends that all observed their friendship. So much did they love one another that if one were ill and could not eat the other would not eat either. But the rajah was displeased at the friendship of his heir with a poor man's son, and as the prince

refused to give up his friend he was forbidden the palace. So the two youths set out and lived together in the jungle, hunting every day for their food. One day the carpenter's son left his friend for a short time in search of water. He at last found a well and was about to fill his vessel when suddenly a great demon rose from its depths, sat on the ground, and then drew from his ear (the hollow of which was as large as a cave) a box, out of which he lifted a beautiful maiden. Telling her he wished to sleep he stretched himself at full length, and the girl began stroking his knees in order to soothe his slumbers. The carpenter's son was at first so wonderstruck by the apparition of the demon and by the beauty of the maiden that he was glued to the ground, but he at last crept noiselessly away and told his friend what he had seen. The prince at once longed to possess the beautiful maiden and bade his friend procure him speech with her. They therefore agreed to go to the well at the same hour on the morrow. The same thing again happened, and this time the carpenter's son crept close to the sleeping demon in order to address the maiden. "What are you doing here?" cried the girl. "If my father awakes he will eat you." "I only want to beg you to go and speak to my friend," replied the youth; "see, there he is." "That I would willingly do, but if I leave off stroking my father's knees he will wake up and eat you."

"I will stroke your father's knees while you are away," was the youth's reply. So the maiden raised her right hand and the youth put his in its place, and the same with the left hand, and the maiden noiselessly glided away to see the prince. He forthwith lifted her on to his horse and galloped away, never to return.

Now the poor youth left behind stroking the giant's legs durst not stop to go after his faithless friend for fear the giant should wake and eat him. But at last the monster had slept enough, and after he had stretched himself and yawned prodigiously he opened his eyes and was much surprised to see the carpenter's son in his daughter's place. The youth upon the giant's inquiries as to who he was and whither his daughter had gone related what had happened. Much tickled at the story the demon was pleased to be good-natured and laugh heartily. "That was a very poor friend of yours," he cried; "I'll tell you a story of a real friend."

"There were once a rajah's son and a Banjara's son whose friendship was so great they lived one for the other. One day

when out on the chase the Banjara,¹ whose beat separated him a little from his companion, while fording a river, perceived a large stone on which was painted the portrait of such a beautiful woman that he was overcome by his feelings and almost fainted. When he came to himself, lest his friend might see the picture to his harm also, he carefully plastered it over with mud and then went on his way. But one morning the prince coming to bathe happened to choose a spot near the portrait. As he cleansed his mouth the water he spat out struck against the stone and discovered a hand holding a lemon. He spat another mouthful of water over the stone again, and this time he saw the entire likeness of a most beautiful woman. He only looked at her once and then went mad for love. Great was the grief of the Banjara when he found out what had happened. He racked his brains for a remedy till he came to the conclusion the only thing to do was to find the original of the portrait and make her his friend's bride. So he began to make inquiries as to the beautiful woman in the neighbouring countries, till he at last heard of a lovely princess in a distant kingdom. He repaired to her country, and received many accounts of this peerless maiden. Her beauty was so great she had many suitors, but she refused them all and would not look at the face of a man. Nothing daunted, the youth haunted the palace till he had made friends with an old woman who looked after the princess's garden, and daily made the wreaths and garlands which she wore. One morning he begged the old woman to let him take charge of the garden for one day only. She replied, 'How can this be? No man is allowed within these precincts, and if found out it will cost your life and mine.' 'But I shall put on woman's clothes,' pleaded the youth. And he gave her two gold mohurs. Then the bel-dame agreed. The Banjara put on woman's clothes, tended the princess's garden, and made such beautiful wreaths and garlands that the princess was delighted. The next morning she asked the old woman who had made such lovely wreaths, and the old dame, much alarmed, replied it was her daughter-in-law. The

¹ Captain Forsyth, in *The Highlands of Central India* (p. 107), states: "Banjaras are a curious race of nomads who are found everywhere in Central India, acting as carriers with herds of pack bullocks. Their name means 'Forest wanderer,' and they appear to be perfectly distinct both from Hindus and from the known aboriginal tribes."

princess asked to see her, and the old woman in fear and trembling brought the youth still in woman's dress. They conversed together, and so charmed was the princess with the stranger that she insisted the night should be spent in her apartments. The youth seized this opportunity to ask her why she would not marry but refused even to look at the face of a man. The maiden sighed, and said, 'Alas, this is the reason. In a former life I was a goose, and had a husband and two young ones. One day there broke out a great fire in the jungle, driving all living creatures before it. My husband flew away, leaving me and my little ones to burn. Since then I never wish to marry nor see the face of man.' The next morning the youth, whose disguise had not been discovered, took his leave from the princess and left the palace. He changed his dress, and this time disguised himself as a faqir. Besmeared with dust and ashes he sat himself near a well, and whenever a woman came to draw water he turned his head away so as not to see her face. This the women soon noticed and discussed, and it gradually came to the princess's ears.

"Curious to observe this man who would not look at a woman's face, and to try him, the princess one day arrayed herself in her finest clothes and jewels and went to the well. As soon as the faqir saw her coming he turned his head away. She went up and asked him why he did this. 'Alas,' he replied, 'in a former life I was a gander, and had a wife and two children. One day a great fire swept over the jungle, driving all living things before it. My wife, instead of flying away with me, preferred to stay behind, and let me go alone. Since then I never wish to see a woman's face again.' 'Why, you must be my husband,' cried the princess. Then she at once went to the rajah, her father, and told him she must marry the faqir, for he had been her husband in a former state. The rajah consented, and all arrangements were set about for the wedding. This took place, but at the ceremony the Banjara insisted upon the bond being made between the princess and the owner of a knife and handkerchief which he produced (they belonged to his friend, the mad prince), giving out this was a custom of his people.

"After the wedding he took the princess to his own country, and when they reached the river where his friend went mad he made the maiden sit on the stone of the portrait and gave her a lemon to hold in her hand. Then hurrying off in search of the love-

crazed prince he brought him to the spot, crying, ‘Look, there is your bride.’ The prince immediately returned to his senses and rejoiced greatly.

“That was a true friend,” said the demon, “not like yours, who left you in danger of being eaten by me. But I pardon you for your misfortune in having such a friend.” And the monster vanished down the well, while the carpenter’s son went home never again to see his friend.

Story of the River Nerbudda.

A certain pious maiden, by name Nerbudda, daughter of a Jemadar,¹ daily led her father’s cows to pasture. One day she met a poor old faqir who putting his hands palm to palm in gesture of supplication cried, “Daughter, my mouth is dried up and parched. Get me a little water for God’s sake.” “Where can I find some?” asked she. Then he told her to gently move a certain stone on the side of a hill close by and water would trickle out. Anxious to relieve the holy man’s thirst, for she saw he was exhausted and feeble, she ran to the spot directed and pulled away the stone; but, alas! the water burst out in a great flood and formed a river in which the poor girl was drowned. And in memory of her piety and sad fate the river was called Nerbudda.

Four Simpleton Stories.

I.

A youth, by name Sekchilli, was one day carrying on his head a jar of ghee (clarified butter) to the bazaar. As he went along he reckoned the owner would give him two pice for the carriage. “With this,” he thought, “I shall buy a hen. She will lay eggs, and I shall get chickens. These I shall sell and buy a goat. With the goat’s milk I shall soon make enough money to buy a cow. With her I shall make more money and get an elephant, and I shall be rich enough to marry. I shall have children, and these will play around me and say, ‘Give me two pice, father.’ But I shall say, ‘I haven’t any pice, go away, go away,’ and the youth shook his head so angrily the jar fell to the ground

¹ Probably “Zemindar” (landowner) is meant.

and all the ghee was spilt. His employer, who was walking behind, angrily asked the lad for the price of the ghee, and as Sekchilli had no money he was dragged to the bazaar and given into custody. But the judge's heart was moved by the youth's plea that he was much more to be pitied than the owner of the ghee, as he had lost his whole fortune by one disaster; and he was set free.

2.

A half-witted youth, by name Sekchilli, when one day drawing water with a neighbour, hit his friend for fun such a blow that he killed him. When he went home and told his mother, she was much afraid for her son's sake; so she ran quickly and carried the corpse into her hut to bury it later on, and killing a goat threw it down the well. When the dead man was missed it was remembered he was last seen in company with Sekchilli, and as a body was to be seen at the bottom of the well they surmised the half-witted lad had knocked his neighbour down; so Sekchilli was sent down the well to bring the body up. "Is it he?" cried the villagers to the lad below. "Yes, here are his two ears," replied the boy, striking the goat's long ears. "And I can feel his breasts," he cried, touching the horns; "and this is his long hair," and he pulled the tail.

But when the body was pulled up they saw it was a goat, and all decided Sekchilli had not killed the lost man.

3.

Another day Sekchilli came to his mother and said, "What must one do to get a red mouth like those people that chew pān (the betel leaf)?" The mother replied in jest, "Go to the bazaar and rub your mouth against that of the first chewer of pān you meet." And Sekchilli went and did as his mother told him. The pān-chewer very angrily cried, "What do you mean by insulting me like this?" and went straightway to the thanadar (police) and related Sekchilli's misdeed. As Sekchilli went on his way he saw a little child crying. The child's mother, who was close by, called out to Sekchilli, "Cut off that little boy's ear," intending to frighten the child into being good by demanding this of a stranger. But Sekchilli went up and really cut the child's ear off. The mother, furious, hied her at once to the thanadar to give information of the foul injury done to her child. Sekchilli went on till he came to a wooden hut in which lived an old woman. He told her his

story, upon which she said, "You had better make a fire as they do at Läken. So Sekchilli struck a match and set the hut on fire, and the old woman was burnt to death. He had after this three policemen on his track, and was soon found and brought before the magistrate. When accused of his three misdeeds he exclaimed that it was his mother who had told him if he wanted his mouth red to rub it against the red mouth of a pān-chewer. It was the child's mother who herself cried out to him to cut off her little boy's ear. And the old woman had bidden him make a fire as they do at Läken. He had but done all he had been told to do.

4. *The Four Sekchillis.*

There were once four fools, friends to one another, and the name of each was Sekchilli. They determined to go out into the world, enter service, and gain their own living. They set out and on their way they came to a field full of white flowers which they took for a great river. So they stripped, piled their clothes on their heads, and waded through the flowers. Upon reaching the other side they counted themselves to see if all had arrived safely, but as each forgot to include himself they could only count three, and making sure one of their number was drowned in the supposed river they raised a great lamentation, howling and weeping.¹ A nawab riding across the maidan (plain) came up and asked them what all this wailing was about. They told him how they started four in number but were now only three. The nawab, to convince them they were four, slashed one with his whip, saying, "You're 'one,'" another crying, "You're 'two,'" the third, "You're 'three,'" and the last, "You're 'four.'" So pleased were the fools to find they were all safe that they immediately offered to enter the nawab's service for nothing. The nawab, very pleased to get four servants so cheaply, took them home with him. Upon arrival he said to one Sekchilli, "Take this bullock cart, go into the jungle, and bring back wood." To another he said, "You must herd these goats. Take them to pasture and choose a nice cool spot." The third was ordered to carry a large jar of ghee to the bazaar for sale. To the fourth the nawab gave a fan, saying, "My old mother is ill. Take this fan and keep the flies from worrying her." Number one Sekchilli

¹ Compare *Le Voyage des Jaguens à Paris*, Sébillot, *Contes Pop. de la Haute Bretagne*, vol. i., page 242 (Story No. 37). E.S.H.

walked along by the wagon and was satisfied as long as its wheels creaked in the usual fashion. Then the creaking stopped for some reason or other, and Sekchilli thought the cart had died, and he made a fire and cremated it. Number two Sekchilli drove his flock safely along till he reached a well down which he dropped all the goats as a nice cool place. The third Sekchilli walked quietly to market till, as the sun rose higher in the sky, he grew very warm and took the jar off his head. The ghee had melted with the heat, and the fool looking at it saw his face reflected as in a mirror. "A thief, a thief," he shouted, and with his stick he struck at his own reflection, dashing the jar to pieces and spilling all the ghee. Number four Sekchilli grew tired of fanning his master's mother, and thinking to get rid of all the flies at once he smeared the old lady's face with treacle, and when it had attracted a swarm of flies he dealt great blows with a club at them, smashed in the old woman's face and killed her. In the evening, when all the servants had collected together, the master asked the first Sekchilli how much wood he had brought home. He replied none, the cart died and he had cremated it. The second Sekchilli, when asked about his goats, said they were in a nice cool well. He was bidden at once to go and haul them up and dry them. The beasts were straight-way got out, but to dry them Sekchilli tethered them fast and made a great fire round them and burned them all up. The ghee-wallah told how he found he was carrying a thief on his head, and in beating him had broken the jar and spilt all the ghee. When finally the nawab found his old mother dead he was very angry, and told the four Sekchillis they must bury her at once. So they put her on a bier, but carried her so heedlessly, the corpse, unknown to its bearers, fell on to the road. When the fools reached the cemetery and found their burden gone, they without any ado seized an old woman walking along near and forcibly buried her. The nawab, who had come on behind and found his mother's corpse on the road, upon hearing what had been done, had the grave reopened, but the poor old woman was already dead. And the four Sekchillis were then summarily dismissed, with blows and harsh words, to seek fortune elsewhere.

(*To be continued.*)

NORTH INDIAN NOTES AND QUERIES, VOL. IV.

Popular Religion.

256. At certain rites, *deer horns* used to be blown. Horns of sheep and goats hung on trees to promote fertility. [In Lesbos, heads or skulls of rams or oxen are hung on trees "to avert the Evil Eye."—W. H. D. R.]

257. A saint, finding a dead lad, puts his soul into him : the lad arises and lives.

258. Sacrilege to *kill a cat* according to the Shashtras.

288. *Bengal Charm against Cholera*.—In front of the village were two bamboos, on one of them an earthen pot and a placard on the other. The pot had had certain sweetmeats over which spells had been spoken ; as the birds eat the food, they carry off the cholera. The placard is headed "Dismissal order of Solomon the Prophet," and is a most amusing hocus-pocus, naming all sorts of deities and demons, and adjuring them in legal language, with threats, to go away.

289. *N.-W. Provinces*.—Worship of *Lotus*. Only white dress allowed.

292. Lightning is the breath of the king of the snakes. [In the Jātaka, a "snake-breath disease" is mentioned. See Index to vol. ii. of the translation.]

293. The conch shells blown in Hindu temples are the bones of a certain demon, hence scare demons away. Other uses of conchs.

295. Hindus believe that one who dies of snake-bite is next born a snake. To free such an one from his snake-body, an *image of a snake* must be made of silver, gold, wood, or clay ; worshipt ; a Brahmin fed (of course) ; and a certain charm recited.

336. Legend of the Pole Star.

339. A stupid tale ; the editor says "an Eastern version of *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 80, *Of the cunning of the Devil and the judgements of God*."

340. *Bombay*.—Village godlings. They dwell in stone pillars which stand generally under a banyan tree.

341. *Symbolical Human Sacrifice*.—Cocoa-nuts or pumpkins substituted for human beings.

344. *Saharanpur*.—Rural Festivals. Sacred days. Tree worshipped with rice-water and *red lead*. Swinging in merry-go-rounds (women). [The Greeks had a swinging-festival for women,

the *aiúpa.*] On one day, every woman paints an earthen vessel, and makes a figure of a woman on the wall of the house, which she worships.

- 345. Disease cured by bathing in a certain tank.
- 346. Sacred fish at Benares (long note).
- 348. Worship of *Cuckoo*.
- 350. Etiquette among gods and demons.

Anthropology.

260. Why the Kayasths of Behar are clerks.—A man was offered one boon by a goddess. He wanted wealth, his barren wife wanted children, his blind mother wanted sight. A Kayasth suggested he should ask “That his mother might see her grandson eating out of a golden cup.” The goddess was angry at having to grant three boons in one; but she did so, cursing the Kayasths at the same time, that they must earn their livelihood by quill-driving.

263. Rules of salutation.

266. *Tree Marriage*.—N. India. Before the man rubs red lead on the parting of the bride's hair (the binding part of the ceremony) she has to rub red lead on a branch of the *sal* tree put under the marriage shed, thus symbolising her previous marriage to it. [For tree marriage, see Index to Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*.]

267. *Silsa*.—Inheritance. Daughters do not inherit. Only agnates inherit, or widows of sonless agnates.—Marriage. A woman enters her husband's clan. A man must not marry an agnate.

297. Witchcraft case in court. A child died; four women were suspected of having bewitched it. They were taken to the grave; the body was dug up, and laid on the lap of each in turn, while the people cried, “Give life, give life!”

299. Girl married to a brass image of Krishna (legend).

301. Mohammedan Prostitutes: they live in communities, all their goods in common, and the males live on the earnings. Gaps filled by adoption.

302. *Saharanpur*.—In the rains a mock marriage is made between two girls, who go through the ceremony, and walk round a tree by a tank.

303. *Karnal*.—Periodical redistribution of holdings.

304. Deities of Wrestlers and their rites.—Women not allowed to see, for fear of the Evil Eye.

305. *Dehra Dun*.—Marriage. Earnest-money paid to bride's father.

Folk-Tales.

269. A variant of 234, but inferior.

270. "An imperfect version of 'Princess Aubergine,' *Wide-awake Stories*, 79."

306. How the Hare outwitted the Lion [a story not unlike those of Brer Rabbit: parallels quoted].

309-10. Comical nonsense tales. Ed. compares *Wideawake Stories*, p. 223.

311. A man lost his nose. The others made fun of him. "Ah," quoth he, "when I had a nose in front of my eyes, I could never see the Lord Almighty. Now I see him daily." So everybody else cut his nose off too, and none were left to mock him.

314. Variant of Bluebeard, with a difference. Hero's tasks. [A muddled tale.]

315. How the Babbler Bird saved the Elephant.

317. A man learns the speech of beasts. His wife hears him laugh at the talk of two ants; he tells her his power of understanding beasts, and at once dies.

352. How a lad learned to be a sorcerer; and by the help of the sorcerer's daughter, escaped his master's attacks, repeatedly changing his shape to avoid him.

353. A king had seven sons; each shot an arrow, and was to marry where it fell. Six arrows fell in the realms of six kings, and the six lads therefore wedded princesses; but one fell in the jungle, in a tree, near which an old woman lived. So the seventh married the old dame's she-monkey. The dame gave a grand wedding feast, with dishes of gold and silver. At night the monkey put off its skin and became a lovely girl. The prince's sisters-in-law saw it, and told the prince to burn her skin. His bride said No; if he did, he would lose her; but told him how to get her back. So burn it he did, and she disappeared. According to instructions, he sought an old faqir, who slept and waked six months on end, and waited upon him. In requital, the faqir told him that after six months birds would come to bathe in the tank, and among them would be the monkey-princess. He would transform the prince into a parrot. When the birds go down to bathe, "pick up their clothes (!) in your beak, and bring them to

me ; but don't look back." The prince did so, but looked back ; and was turned into dust. The faqir found the ashes, made them into a figure, and breathed life into them. After another six months he went as before, and this time did not look back, but brought the clothing to the faqir. The fairies surrounded the cell and asked for the thief; promising whatever he asked in return for their clothes. He asked for the monkey-princess. The faqir told him to pick the oldest; he did so; it was she. She gave him a flute, saying, "When you play on it, I shall come." He took it home, and used often to play on it. Once he left it about ; his sisters-in-law played. Up came the fairies, and this time carried off the flute. The prince came to the faqir again, and told him. This time the prince went with the monkey-princess as her drummer-boy, before Indra. The fairies pleased Indra with their dancing, so that he promised whatever the monkey-princess asked. She gave her right to the prince, who asked for her. [The shooting of arrows for brides occurs in *Georgian Folktales*, p. 15 ; and I have seen it in a modern Greek fairy tale, published locally as a pamphlet.¹ Cf. No. 359. The "clothes" were doubtless their bird skins. Cf. *Swan-maidens*. No. 354 is a variant of this.]

358. Hero's Tasks. To catch a tailless jackal. Tiger's milk. How he outwitted his faithless wife and her paramour, the Raja.

359, like 353. Arrows. This time the bride is a 'fairy,' who has a monkey-skin for her plaything. The rest is a shorter version of the former tale.

Mixed.

273. *Kamaun*.—Drought, murrain, barrenness of land, and the like averted by sacrifice of *bull buffaloes* (described).

274. To discover theft.—Boiled rice, weighed against a silver coin with name of the Emp. Shah Alum on it, is given to suspected persons. In the mouth of the thief it turns to flour, and chokes him.

275. Counting backwards as a charm against scorpion bites.

278. Boys fear to wake their comrades from sleep, lest the soul should be apart from the body and fail to return in time.

280. Charm : and blowing over ashes.

¹ The incident is not uncommon in tales from Mediterranean lands. It is prominent in *Prince Ahmed and the Fairy* in the *Arabian Nights*. A good example is also *La Ranocchiella*, a Tuscan *märchen* in *Archivio*, vol. i., page 42. E.S.H.

281. Offerings made to a monolith column.
283. If a husband eat the leavings of his wife, he becomes subservient to her. So when a man comes for his bride, the bride's relations make him eat betel in which is a nut already chewed by the bride. (Hindus.)
285. *Saharanpur* Wizards.—They charm out your liver by looking at you. If a man gives them fire while cooking, they have power over the food. (*Sympathetic Magic.*)
318. A jungle boy in Bengal; his habits. Cannot speak, but utters queer cries and sounds.
319. Mango crop begins to ripen on the day of the mock marriage of Ghazi Miyan.
320. *Panjab*.—Cowherds in milking let the first five streams of milk fall on the ground. The first milk is also sometimes given to a priest.
322. *Alwar*.—Installation of new Maharaja. By custom, at a certain spot he shoots a hare.
324. Ceremonial at Suttee. 327. Seven as sacred number.
329. If a corpse is brought aboard ship, the ship will sink in a storm.
330. A she-devil entered a boy, and said she meant to stay. The exorcist proceeded to thrash that boy. The she-devil came out.
360. Respect paid to cooking utensils.
365. Charm to walk on the water.—Wet a cloth in the blood of the snake which has a mouth at both ends; hold it in your mouth, and walk on the water.
368. *Nepal*.—There is such reverence for the cow that they will not approach it except in a position of adoration. If you want to stop a man from work in the fields all you have to do is to place a figure of a cow in the field.
369. Kinds of grain used in exorcism.
370. To make a husband subservient to his wife, cause him to eat owl's flesh.
371. Propitiation of river.—Part of the food thrown in, the rest shared by the people present. 374. Omens.
375. How to outwit the goblins at threshing and winnowing seasons.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

OBITUARY.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

THE death of GEORGE STEPHENS, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., is a loss to all studies which concern the past of mankind. Whenever such a man dies, he dies too soon. Dr. Stephens was born at Liverpool in 1813. He resided first at Stockholm, and afterwards at Copenhagen, where he became Professor of English Language and Literature. To enumerate his various publications, chiefly on archæological subjects, would require greater space than we have at command. His most important work is one upon the runic monuments of England and Scandinavia. But his interest in the science of folklore was deep and abiding, and his contributions to it were important. In conjunction with M. Hyltén Cavallius he published half a century ago the collection of *Swedish Folktales*, by which his name will be known to students of the subject for many a year. In his edition of *Sir Amadace*, an English metrical romance of the thirteenth century, published in 1860, he gave prominence to the history of the folktale incident (*The Grateful Unburied*) whereon the romance is founded. The name of Dr. Stephens will be found in the first list of members of the Folk-Lore Society ; and one of his last acts was to put into the hands of the Society for publication a transcript which he had himself made from a manuscript collection of stories of the fourteenth century. He was always ready to assist others who wanted to learn ; nor was there any end to the trouble he would take even for entire strangers who were in pursuit of information on antiquarian matters. He passed away on the 9th of August last at his residence at Copenhagen.

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